OCT 6 1951

THE SURVEY

OCTOBER 1951 — FIFTY CENTS

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It's Time To Remember—

That the Social Services

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your interest and concern

for the welfare of people.

It's time to give more

generously than ever,

this year.

REMEMBER THE RED FEATHER SERVICES IN YOUR COMMUNITY

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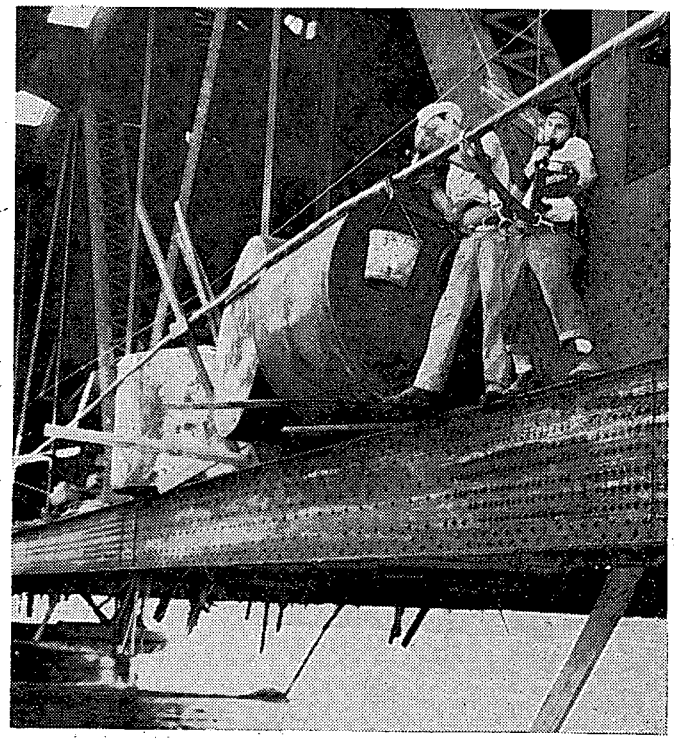
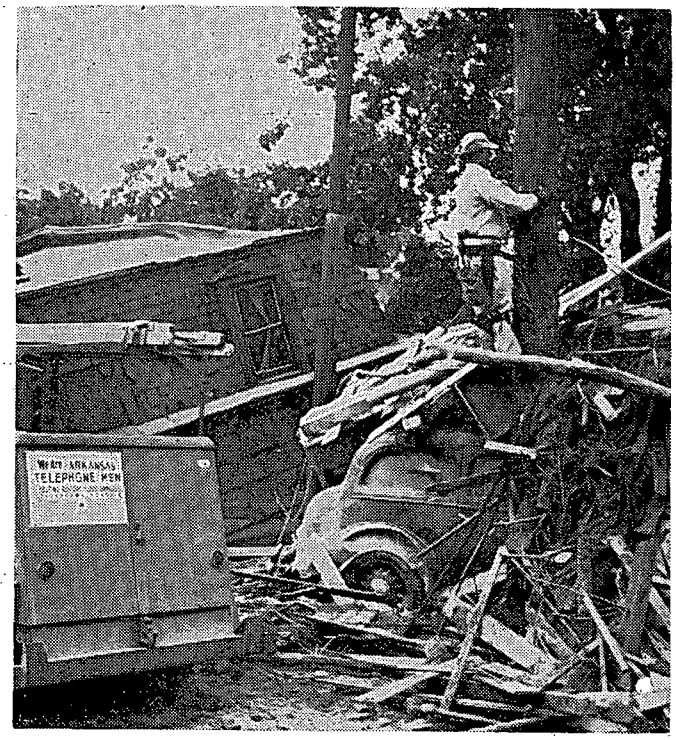


Above the Flooded River. Poised a few feet above the swirling flood, a telephone repairman tests a cable on a bridge between Kansas City, Kansas, and Kansas City, Missouri, while his companion uses a walkie-talkie to co-ordinate repair work. In other places, telephone men were forced to take to boats.



Meeting the Emergency. Telephone people not only worked valiantly to restore service but to keep it going. Dikes were thrown around telephone offices. Switchboards raised above rising waters. Emergency power plants set up. Mobile radio telephones rushed to towns where telephone offices were washed out.

FIGHTING THE NATION'S COSTLIEST FLOOD

From the flooded sections of Missouri, Kansas and Oklahoma have come stories of the loyalty, skill and courage of telephone people in one of the Nation's worst floods.

Many returned from vacations to help. In one town, a single radio appeal for former operators brought twice as many as were needed. Hundreds of trained telephone people from other states were rushed to the scene to help their fellow workers.

Once again the Western Electric Company — the Bell System's manufacturing and supply unit — proved its value in an emergency. By plane, fast freight and truck it rushed millions of feet of cable and wire, telephones, switchboards and other needed equipment.

No one can tell when or where such emergencies will occur, but the Bell System has to be ready and able to handle them when they happen. That means financially able as well as physically able.

This points up again that it takes a financially strong telephone company, with a strong supply organization like Western Electric, to give the Nation the service it requires.

Flying to the Flood Front. Part of one hundred Long Distance operators who were flown from NewYork, Louisville and Chicago to Kansas City, Missouri, where a flood of calls followed the flood of waters. With traditional Bell System speed and teamwork, they pitched in to help at busy switchboards in the stricken areas.

BELL TELEPHONE SYSTEM

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DIRECTORY OF ORGANIZATIONS

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AMERICAN HEARING SOCIETY—817 14th St., N.W., Fifth Floor, Washington 5, D. C. A national organization devoted to prevention of deafness, conservation of hearing and rehabilitation of the hard of hearing. Monthly publication, HEARING NEWS, $3.00 a year. Literature for sale. Information given concerning problems of the hard of hearing. Field Service. Thomas L. Tolan, M.D., President; W. Earl Prosser, Executive Vice President; Claude W. Kniseley, Treasurer.

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THE AMERICAN INSTITUTE OF FAMILY RELATIONS (inc. 1930), directed by Paul Popenoe. Public education, personal service, research. Write for list of publications, 5287 Sunset Blvd., Los Angeles 27, Calif.

ASSOCIATION FOR FAMILY LIVING, THE. Resource in child guidance, marriage, and family relations. Speakers, counseling, library and materials in youth and parent education. 28 E. Jackson Blvd., Chicago 4, Ill.

ASSOCIATION FOR PSYCHIATRIC TREATMENT OF OFFENDERS: Research-Therapy Forum. Dr. Melitta Schmideberg, Chairman. 20 East 84th Street, New York City. Non-profit. Free or low-fee treatment. Psychiatric treatment of adult and juvenile offenders. Monthly forum meetings. Workshop meetings in social treatment of offenders for social workers. Information, call Jack Sokol—Wadsworth 6-2551.

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LEAGUE FOR INDUSTRIAL DEMOCRACY—Promotes a better understanding of problems of democracy in industry through its pamphlets, research and lecture services and organization of college and city groups. Executive Director, Harry W. Laidler, 112 East 19th Street, New York 3, N. Y.

NATIONAL ASSOCIATION OF THE DEAF, 121 West Wacker Drive, Chicago 1, Ill. Byron B. Burnes, President; Robert M. Greenmun, Secretary-Treasurer. Organized 1880. Incorporated 1900. Objects: Educational, Social, Industrial Welfare of the Deaf, Quadrennial National Conventions. Official Organ, The Silent Worker, $3.50 year. Lists achievements of deaf in Industry, Education, Sports, and Religion. Section for Parents of Deaf Children.

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NATIONAL CONFERENCE OF SOCIAL WORK, 22 West Gay St., Columbus 15, Ohio; Lester B. Granger, President. The N. C. S. W. is an association of individual and organization members to promote and share in discussion of the problems and methods of social work and related fields. It holds annual meetings and publishes Proceedings and selected papers. Any interested person or organization may join. Dues for individuals start at $4.00, for organizations at $15.00. Dues of $7.50 or more bring full benefits, including free Proceedings. 79th Annual Meeting, 1952, Chicago, Ill.

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NATIONAL TUBERCULOSIS ASSOCIATION—1790 Broadway at 58th St., New York. Dr. James E. Perkins, managing director. Pamphlets of methods and programs for the prevention of tuberculosis. Publications sold and distributed through state associations in every state. American Review of Tuberculosis medical journal, $10.00 a year; and Monthly Bulletin, house organ, free.

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THE NATIONAL SOCIETY FOR CRIPPLED CHILDREN AND ADULTS, INC., 11 South LaSalle Street, Chicago 3, Illinois. Gerard M. Ungaro, President; Lawrence J. Linck, Executive Director. The Society through its 2000 state and local member units seeks to provide health, welfare, educational, recreational, vocational and employment services to all types of handicapped persons, adjusting its services to each community and the programs of other agencies. Maintains special cerebral palsy services; consultation by professional staff; loan library. Financed by annual sale of Easter Seals. Publishes "The Crippled Child," a magazine for parents of handicapped children, bimonthly, $2.00 a year.

THE NATIONAL VOCATIONAL GUIDANCE ASSOCIATION, Campbell B. Beard, Executive Secretary, 1424 16th St., N.W., Washington 6, D. C., is the professional organization for counselors and others engaged and interested in vocational guidance and the publishers of OCCUPATIONS, the Vocational Guidance Journal.

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THE NATIONAL FOUNDATION FOR INFANTILE PARALYSIS, INC., 120 Broadway, New York 5, N. Y. A non-profit organization pledged to lead, direct and unify the fight against infantile paralysis and supported by the March of Dimes. Through more than 2,800 Chapters serving every county of the nation, it helps pay for the best available care and treatment for polio patients whose families cannot pay full costs unaided, regardless of age, race, creed or color, and assists in staffing and equipping local polio centers. It supports scientific investigation into the cause, prevention, cure and treatment of infantile paralysis and finances the professional training of scientific and medical personnel. It maintains a year-round program of public information and education about the disease.

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Letters from Survey Readers

What Do *You* Think?

To the Editor: Social Service in Brazil is being taught, presently, in 16 schools—still an insufficient number for our demands, but representing a great effort of a group of pioneers. It was hard, when preparing the first social workers in Brazil after the first World War, to escape the great individualist influence which was coming from Europe and the USA. Casework became the basic teaching, though other courses were later founded. Courses in the methods of group work and community organization are very recent. The emphasis, however, continues on casework as the basic method for social work.

After World War II, Brazil entered an economic crisis, with price rises tormenting the middle and the poor classes. On the other hand, a newly awakened collective conscience refused to accept as inevitable the underhuman life that millions of Brazilians live in the rural fields and in the slums that surround the big cities. What was once regarded as a social condition became a social problem. These two factors—the economic crisis and the new social concept—have incited serious discussions on the methods of social work.

Some social workers declare that social casework must continue to be taught as fundamental method, complemented by group work and community organization; that social action is not a social work process, and must not be taught in the schools or practiced by social workers. Others maintain that it is of the nature of casework to adapt the maladjusted to its group.

We are a very poor country though we are considered potentially rich. Half of our population is still illiterate. The great majority undernourished. A great part of our people live in poverty. Diseases kill thousands annually. Infant mortality is high. Our income per capita is one of the lowest in the whole world. Tuberculosis destroys our population, and we have hospital beds for only a tiny fraction of the sick people.

How is it possible to face this tragic reality, this deep and great maladjustment, using social casework? Group work will not be efficient, nor can the process of community organization accomplish much though it can be of great help in some cases. There is a growing pressure for social action, integrated into social work, as a fourth process, with a scientific basis and defined techniques.

The occasional problem of mass relief, which American social workers have had to face is a continuous problem here. If we are not able to adapt social work to the necessities of our people, we will be surrendering ourselves to poverty, forgetting that social work is a "dynamic concept," which cannot have a definite form for social reality is changeable.

To use the casework method alone in Brazil would be like trying to empty the Atlantic Ocean with water pots. The only remedy for maladjustment of the mass is adjustment of the mass. Only the method of social action has possibilities for this task. It involves the following techniques: social research, planning, social legislation, promotion, pressure, persuasion, public opinion mobilization (education, social interpretation, and public relations), and administration; and must be applied in the following areas: nutrition, housing, health, economy, education, social security, and recreation.

These are the arguments in the current controversy over what must be taught in Brazilian schools of social work.

What do American social workers suggest would be a solution to this problem? Their opinions will be a real help to us in solving our problem.

Rio de Janeiro, Brazil Severino Sombra

Henry George's Answer

To the Editor: I have been one of your family of readers for nearly thirty years. I want to pose what to me is a burning question: Is it not time we took Henry George out of his pigeonhole and considered what bearing his ideas have on the injustices of today?

Into our laps are tossed the problems of racial and international hatreds and rivalries. To quote from page 355 of the August *Survey*: "The committee heard too about native workers in the towns [of South West Africa] who earn 20 to 25 shillings a week but must pay disproportionate house and water taxes." In other issues you have dealt with tensions in the USA between whites and Negroes and the calamity of war and its aftermath. Your magazine above all others confronts us with the challenges of our age.

In every issue you tell of how brave men meet the challenges. "Point Four Among the Mayans" in the August number is typical. Yes, mental and physical health and the conservation of soil and water, all are being improved, but are they being improved fast enough to prevent racial and international suspicion and hate? The answer is, "No!"

I don't wonder that America loves free enterprise. She had it in the days of the pioneers when land was free. The less free land there is, the less free enterprise—now almost none. A team and a plough and a bag of seed are no longer capital enough with which to start a farm. Everything takes cash capital and the bargain is no longer between man and the earth but between man and man, to see who can get the better of the other. But we could have free land even now—free land, the great reconciler of hatreds and rivalries. How? I will tell you.

I once had some friends who lived near New York City. They owned the house they lived in but they rented the land on which it stood. They were secure of the use of the land as long as they paid the ground rent. Under the Henry George system, all landowners would be in this position. They would be secure in the possession of their land as long as they paid their taxes but their taxes would be equivalent to ground rent and there would be no tax on the house. Furthermore, there would be no indirect taxation to pay in the form of import duties.

If such ground rent were charged, the tendency in both city and country would be for unused land to revert to the government for nonpayment of taxes and for the government to give it to those who would pay the ground rent, very often to those who had no capital but a pick and shovel. Much work would remain to be done on soil and water conservation and public health, but the greatest cause of rivalry and hate would have been abolished—privilege with respect to Mother Earth.

Can you imagine free trade and a fair ground-rent-tax over the entire globe? I can. But I can imagine no other basis for justice within a nation and no other basis for peace beyond its borders.

Dorothea Simmons

Walker's Wood, Jamaica, B.W.I.

Federalism

To the Editor: In re: "Youth in the World It Faces." Over 500 years ago the Swiss Alliance was begun by three little communities, as a military pact against the Hapsburgs. Later, as other towns and people joined, the league structure became inadequate and over a period of time the present federal structure was developed.

Shortly after our revolution, the 13 members of the "League of Firm Friendship" also discovered that leagues and alliances are not capable of handling man's peacetime political, military, monetary, economic,

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Letters

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and moral problems, so they too had to adopt the Federal System.

It works wherever tried, and is, of course the answer to our present situation. Yet youth facing the world, Mr. Truman facing Communism, and millions of others, trying to decide what to do about it all, don't consider the possibilities offered by Federalism. Why?

How many people are even aware of the mechanical structure of our government? Of the Canadian? Of the Swiss? Yet it is this mechanical Essence of Federalism that is of vital importance to all of us today. If we conquer our present problems it will be through two things: Faith and Federalism. JACK F. RAAB

San Pedro, Calif.

Approval and Disapproval

TO THE EDITOR: I don't know Miss Annette H. Richards, but I felt I should like to grasp her hand as I finished reading her realistic delineation of "Vacation Vandals" in the June issue of *The Survey*.

It emphasized to me that there are still occupants of this grand old world of ours who crave cleanliness and the spirit of refinement that should mark our public places of beauty. Each morning on my way to work, I cross a wonderful spot of green and shade trees—to be sure the old time iron railings are gone, as well as any throb to inspiration when one sees the empty brown bottles flung most anywhere, the newspapers carpeting the ground, and the loathsome sight of people using the greensward as a mattress.

Whether Miss Richard's article brings any results or not, I think she should be commended for her courage in projecting into the open what has been smouldering in others' minds for a long time. Many of us say, "Isn't it terrible" and amble along. Miss Richards had the civic insight to publish as a demonstration for public minded citizens, a "Stop, look around, and speak up" signal.

Boston, Mass. MARY C. ROBINSON

TO THE EDITOR: It was with great interest as well as grave concern that I followed Gunnar Dybwad's interesting article on "Child Care in Germany" in the March issue of *The Survey*. I was greatly pleased that another reader, Hanna Hellinger Meissner, took up and used her "musket" for me.

I am gravely concerned about the ever-increasing number of social workers, U. S. bred and raised, who, upon their first and unique experience with Germans in Germany, fall into the same trap of antedated misconceptions, delusions *de grandeur* ("we, the most democratic people on earth") and display of their unfamiliarity with German history and culture as their worthy colleagues, military or civilian, in our occupational forces.

For example, Gunnar Dybwad, in answering Miss Meissner's charge of "oversimplification" states that she "points to democratic elements in German welfare work. . . . Yet between 1930 and 1934 almost 65,000,000 Germans could not keep from 'following the leader' into a path that unmistakably led to the uttermost depths of human depravity. Why?" A social worker's job is to evaluate the total makeup of a client and the environmental circumstances that led to his needs. A nation, being a group of people, has to be evaluated on the same basis. If the Germans, to be sure, had not had the largest *percentage* of unemployment among all nations, including this country, there would not have been a need for them, "following the leader" who promised the most. I submit further and finally, that the reason for such a need can be put, largely, at the doorsteps of Uncle Sam, who, being isolationistic-minded, did not care a hoot what the man with "the funny mustache" did.

It, therefore, ill becomes Gunnar Dybwad, Rose Porter, and others to speak of "arrogant civil service and narrow-minded judiciary which remained in power." After all, people in a glass house should be the last to throw stones at others!

Los Angeles, Calif. HANS A. ILLING

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THE SURVEY

October 1951

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Photo: St. Louis Post-Dispatch from Black Star

As the angry Kaw swept through this once prosperous farm, down went buildings and bumper corn crop. The irremediable loss was the rich top soil which became the muck and mire of Kansas City streets or the silt which the unbridled river system eventually will deposit in the sea

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In the Wake of the Floods

Why, with all that is known about flood control, do thousands of people now find themselves with nothing but the filth left by the great Missouri deluge?

RUFUS TERRAL

BEHIND LAST SUMMER'S GREAT NATURAL CATASTROPHE, THE devastating floods in Kansas and Missouri, is a simple story. The sweeping tragedy of 44 persons killed, 500,000 persons displaced, 2,000,000 acres flooded, 45,000 houses damaged or destroyed, the teeming Kansas Citys gutted by water and flame, and a $2,500,000,000 loss is only an effect. Underlying it all is the tale of three dams that became lost in politics in Kansas and the District of Columbia, and never got built.

Tuttle Creek, the most important of the proposed dams, would be no great shakes financially, at least for these days. It would cost some $59,000,000. Few Americans have heard of it, and some of the members of Congress who have, incorrectly pronounce it Turtle Creek. The report on flood control in the Kansas River and its tributaries, of which it is a part, is out of print. Tuttle Creek apparently does not enjoy an imposing position in national, or any other, consciousness.

Yet Tuttle Creek dam, together with two smaller dams, Perry and Milford, costing in all some $96,000,000 would have prevented this 2½ billion-dollar flood. We have it on the authority of the chief of the Corps of Engineers of the United States Army, Lieutenant General Lewis A. Pick. As the Corps of Engineers is responsible for flood control on the Missouri River, that is, officially, the final word.

The people of the United States of America have now paid for Tuttle Creek, Perry, and Milford dams ten times over, and still do not have them. Though they were not previously aware of the necessity for them, they will continue to pay for many years into the future for not having had them in 1951. Although it is now too late to avoid this unreasonable and monstrous burden, it is possible to throw a ray of light here and there on why it exists.

Kansas City, Missouri, and Kansas City, Kansas, among all the cities on the Missouri river, have stood in the deadliest peril of floods from their very beginnings. To protect them, a system of levees begun after a disastrous flood in 1903 has been developed along the river front. Five years ago the Corps of Engineers began completing the system by means of a program of new levees estimated to cost $41,000,000. This was one of the first projects started under the Pick-Sloan plan.

Pick-Sloan is the combination of the Pick plan drawn up for the Missouri river system by the Corps of Engineers, mainly in the interests of navigation and flood control, and the Sloan Plan of the Reclamation Bureau, drawn up for the same river system, mainly in the interest of irrigation. The two plans were named for Lt. Gen. Lewis A. Pick, now chief of Engineers, and W. Glenn Sloan, now retired, who was second in command of the Reclamation Bureau's regional office at Billings, Montana. When agitation began for a Missouri Valley Authority, the Corps of Engineers and Reclamation Bureau composed their rival plans by jointly adopting both. A Missouri Valley Authority as proposed to Congress the last half dozen years by Senator James E. Murray of Montana would be a government corporation similar to the Tennessee Valley Authority, which would draw up a single plan for the Missouri valley and supply one management for its construction and administration. [See "MVA: Order Out of Chaos," by Rufus Terral, *The Survey*, May 1949.]

SINCE PICK-SLOAN WAS FORMED, IT HAS BEEN JOINED BY twenty-four other federal government agencies. The task of making these twenty-six agencies function as a single unit has been entrusted to a Missouri Basin Interagency Committee, a group composed of representatives from the twenty-six agencies and from the governors of the Missouri Valley states. The committee can request the twenty-six agencies to comply voluntarily with its advice, but it has no enforcement power. Moreover, it depends on these agencies for its technical information. Advocates of the MVA have maintained that efficiency in planning and procedure calls for one agency responsible for the development and protection of the entire watershed, but the Pick-Sloan plan won out as the program already in operation.

The new levee system begun under the Pick-Sloan plan

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—By an editorial writer for the* St. Louis Post Dispatch, *who has made a special study of conservation and flood control in the Missouri Valley.

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was designed to protect the two Kansas Citys from floods up to 33 feet. To keep floods that reached the Kansas Citys down to this height at which the levees could handle them, the plans called for dams and reservoirs on three tributaries of the Kansas River, itself a tributary of the Missouri whose confluence is at the Kansas Citys. There would be Tuttle Creek on the Blue River near Manhattan, Milford on the Republican River near Junction City, and Perry on the Delaware River near Lawrence—all in Kansas. But under the plan each dam had to have congressional authorization, and the necessary federal funds. These have not been forthcoming.

Neglectful congressmen excuse themselves on the basis of local opposition. Apathy would probably be a better word and this could be attributed to the lack of any really diligent effort to inform public opinion as to the peril in which the Kansas Citys would stand till the dams in the Kansas River basin were built.

Opposition to Tuttle Creek dam after its authorization thirteen years ago had prevented subsequent ap-

Typical of what the flood refugees had to come home to

proval of the Milford and Perry dams. Landowners who would have to move out of the reservoir area objected. So did tradespeople whose business would be affected. So did the publications of former Senator Arthur Capper — *The Topeka Daily Capital, Capper's Weekly, The Kansas Farmer,* and a half dozen other Kansas periodicals. Capper was against multiple purpose dams of all types, as many Kansans still are, because in general they would be higher, and flood more land, than relatively low dams for the single purpose of flood control. In Washington the opposition was created by the late Senator Clyde W. Reed, of Kansas, according to Representative Richard Bolling of Kansas City. Bolling says he does not know of a single instance in which a Kansas Senator or Representative has supported the construction of a dam in Kansas.

Bolling also remembers that a few days after he was first elected, in 1948, officers of the Corps of Engineers took him on a tour of the flood protection works at Kansas City and told him in tones of urgency: "We've got to have the Kansas River dams. Another 1903 is due any day—overdue. Unless we get the Kansas River dams there may be a terrible disaster."

But Representative Fred Aandahl of North Dakota, a former member of the Missouri Basin Interagency Committee, says he never heard Tuttle Creek so much as mentioned in the meetings of that committee. He was a member of Interagency, as governor of North Dakota, from 1947 until early this year, and attended many meetings of the group from the time it was organized, some three years before. He feels sure, however, the proposed dam must have been mentioned at meetings in Kansas and Missouri which he did not attend. Senator Andrew F. Schoeppel of Kansas, also a former governor and former member of the Interagency, says the Corps of Engineers "hasn't been pushing for these dams like they are pushing now or anything like it, because they recognized there was opposition," and he says "some now are prone to criticize the engineers for not having pressed all-out for them, but of course that's hindsight."

When the $41,000,000 system of new levees at the Kansas Citys was 58 percent complete, the floods struck. During the six years they had been under construction, work had not even been started on the dams that were to make them practical. "If," said General Pick recently, "we had had the Milford and Tuttle Creek reservoirs we could have passed this flood by Manhattan and Topeka. If we had had Milford, Tuttle Creek, and Perry, we could have passed it by Lawrence. And with those three, plus the levee system at Greater Kansas City, the disaster here could have been averted."

THE RAINS STARTED IN MAY. ALL OVER THE KANSAS RIVER basin it rained for seven weeks. The rivers got out of their banks, but the levees held. There was a ten-day interval and then the downpour resumed. In six weeks of June and July, thirty inches of rain came down, five inches more than usually falls on the Kansas River basin in an entire year. It came in virtual cloudbursts—eight to twelve inches over a wide area in three days, eleven inches in a single night at Manhattan.

Uncontrolled, the Kansas River smote eastern Kansas with a terrible fury. At Manhattan, Kansas, seat of much of the opposition to flood control dams, the business district was virtually destroyed, and damage to the town of 20,000 totaled $20,000,000.

At Topeka, the onrushing flood broke through the levee at the northern part of the city with hurricane violence, sweeping houses away as if they had been match boxes, and collapsing four bridges. It engulfed the stores up to their second stories. A raging oil fire increased the destruction. At Lawrence the levees were overtopped in the north section of town, leaving a scene of utter ruin.

All this was pale preliminary to what happened to Kansas City. Behind its levees, towering up to 35 feet,

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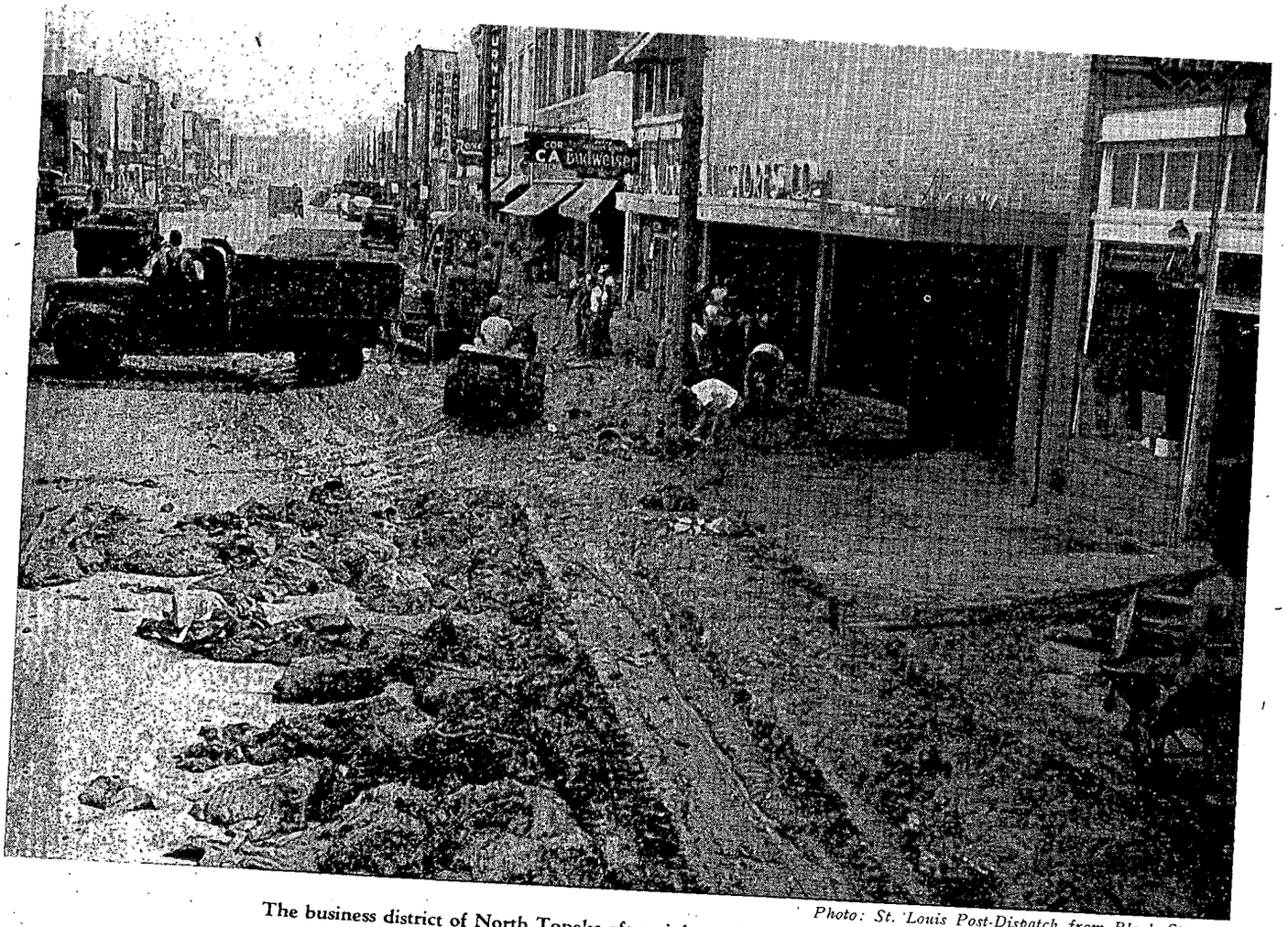

The business district of North Topeka after eighteen feet of water had subsided

Photo: St. Louis Post-Dispatch from Black Star

as high as a two-story building, the city waited with apparently little realization of its peril. As the floods swept in, Roy Roberts, publisher of the *Kansas City Star*, noted: "We had levees here which we thought would halt any flood. But they didn't." Two days later the *Star* said in its news columns: "Kansas City never knew there was a flood until water came over the Kaw (Kansas) River dikes. Actual warning, nil. Upriver there was disaster above the 1903 scale. But Kansas City had its dikes and the Missouri was not the unruly, threatening water bully it had been in late May, 1903. Only the flooding Kaw running by the city—that was the outlook."

As the flood broke over the levees and then ripped through some of them, tidal waves ten to twenty feet high swept into the city and sections were inundated under fourteen feet of water in as short a time as two hours. The stockyards, among the nation's greatest, were buried in water. The Union Station, one of the nation's busiest railway terminals, at which 150 trains arrive and depart daily, was paralyzed. Twenty-five hundred loaded freight cars, 10,000 empties, and hundreds of locomotives were caught. The flood waters covered the rail yards, packing plants, grain elevators, refineries, soap plants, steel fabricating plants, cold storage warehouses, and flour mills. They stretched out as much as two miles wide, turbulent, dirty, stinking.

Two and three-story buildings were crumpled into random heaps of brick. Black, bloated carcasses of cattle and hogs floated on the water, sending up an unbearable stench. Twisted ends of rails stuck crazily from the water. Huge oil storage tanks, once in trim rows, were toppled in heaps like tin cans carelessly tossed away. A floating tank containing 6,000 gallons of oil struck a high tension electric power line that had fallen into the water, and exploded, covering the water with flaming oil. The fire ignited two more tanks containing 800,000 gallons of diesel oil, showering flame over the industrial area. For five days the conflagration raged, the worst in Kansas City's history, destroying seven solid blocks and doing damage estimated at $10,000,000.

"When these waters go down," said General Pick, "you are going to see the dirtiest city you ever saw." Sixteen million tons of silt, mixed with sewage, were deposited on the Kansas Citys, presenting a grave health problem. Swift and Company lost $7,500,000, Armour $9,000,000. But the greatest tragedies were the personal ones. Families brought sodden, mud-packed furniture out on the porches to try to dry and clean it; walked away from homes they had spent twenty-five years paying for with nothing but a chair and the stem of a lamp to show for it; or waded ankle deep in foul muck, trying to clear away enough space on the floor for a bone-weary person to lie down to an hour's sleep before taking up the struggle again.

For 750 miles, from the headwaters of the Kansas to the confluence of the Missouri with the Mississippi near St. Louis, the desolation was unbelievable. Fields of wheat waiting for harvest, and corn shoulder high, were turned into bare flats of baked mud. In St. Charles County, Missouri, farm specialists estimated it would take years to make some of the land capable of bearing crops again. Seventeen major bridges were washed out, some of them loaded with locomotives to weight them against the flood. Sixteen thousand head of livestock were lost. The destruction along the St. Louis waterfront, negligible by comparison with the ruin at Kansas City, totaled $4,000,000. It was catastrophe on a scale that, according

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to General Pick, could not occur on any river but the Missouri.

This was a national disaster. And from across the nation came concern over what should be done.

A *New York Times* editorial maintained that a Missouri Valley Authority should now be set up "before, not after, any further gigantic river development schemes are embarked upon." The flood, it observed, had put pressure on Congress "to vote more money for dams to be scattered about the Missouri Basin" under the Pick-Sloan plan, which the newspaper called not a plan but a "conglomeration." *The Times* agreed with Philip Murray, president of the CIO, that next in importance to immediate relief for the flood victims is "the creation of 'a sound river management program.'"

The *St. Louis Post-Dispatch* said: "Unless there is a disposition by all the major elements in the Missouri Valley to compose their differences and get ahead with the big job, another costly tragedy may come down the Missouri before we know it."

And the *Washington Post:* "It does not matter what the project is called or precisely how it is administered. . . . There are two imperative principles which any plan must satisfy: first, it must have the support of the people in the area concerned; and second, it must be valley-wide in scope and include all natural resources."

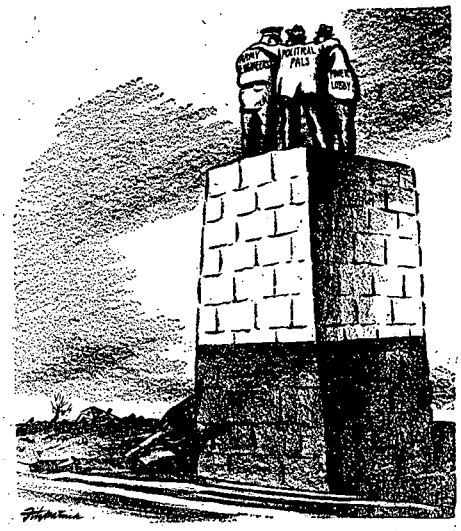
WHAT IS GOING TO COME OF IT? Opposition in Manhattan to flood control dams seems to have dissolved. The city manager, Barton Avery, expressing hope that work for the Pick-Sloan plan will get under way soon, has observed: "We wouldn't have the heart to begin the tremendous job of rehabilitation without assurances these disasters will not recur." Former Senator Capper has also called off his opposition. In a signed editorial in the *Kansas Farmer* he "reluctantly came to the conclusion" that the farmers of Kansas should go along with the Pick-Sloan plan: "It is highly preferable, in my judgment, to that alternative, the creation of a Missouri Valley Authority that would give Washington life and death powers over agriculture, business, industry, and labor in the entire area." Senator and former Governor Schoeppel of Kansas says—somewhat vaguely, to be sure—that it is necessary to move forward with "the dams already authorized." Tuttle Creek dam at least is one. At the same time there are some Kansans who are still speaking out in meetings and writing letters opposing any high dams whatsoever.

The disaster has put a lot of steam behind the Pick-Sloan plan in the stricken area and in Congress as well. It has also raised questions in many minds as to whether the Pick-Sloan plan is complete enough, and whether the management and the plan have been putting first things first . . . fighting aggressively for what are known to be the engineering requirements, regardless of the politics involved.

The Hoover Commission on the Organization of the Executive Branch of the Government had reported Pick-Sloan and Interagency as inadequate. However, the Hoover report did not favor a Missouri Valley Authority, preferring instead to transfer the civil functions of the Army Corps of Engineers to the Department of the Interior. Since the flood, both President Truman and Secretary of the Interior Oscar L. Chapman have gone on record as considering Pick-Sloan and Interagency inadequate, though favoring immediate appropriations for critical flood control projects. President Truman wants an agency with some of the salient merits of an MVA. Secretary Chapman also leans to some sort of an MVA, though he has not made up his mind exactly what form its management should take and how authority should be divided between the federal government and the states. In the meantime, Montana's Senator Murray has reintroduced his MVA bill. However, as little has been done to make it more acceptable, there is no chance of its passage and slight chance it will receive a hearing.

On the other hand, there is a very good chance that the people of the valley, and their servants at Washington, have been shocked by this flood into the realization that certain principles of good management can no longer be neglected, and that a development plan which is incomplete and uncertain in its order of values cannot be afforded. If so, a single agency of management may emerge from all this agony and waste. If it has the authority to do the entire job, if it is non-political, and if it is domiciled in the region itself, it will make little difference whether it is called the Missouri Valley Authority or the Great Plains Chowder and Marching Society. Pick-Sloan and Interagency have not proved inadequate because they are named Pick-Sloan and Interagency, but because their authority to make decisions and to act is split up into twenty-six parts, because they are heavily political, and because their location in Washington makes it almost impossible for plain citizens—but all too easy for the special-interest lobbies—to exert any influence.

If something good emerges, if the Missouri Valley finally gets one plan for its development and one management to see the plan to fulfillment, it may be because of the efforts of men like Senator Thomas C. Hennings, Jr., of Missouri. Senator Hennings is thinking in terms of an investigating commission which would be created with private specialists, officials of the executive department of the government, and members of Congress as its members. It would come to the Missouri Valley, hear the testimony of citizens, look and learn for itself, and recommend to Congress what should be done. Senator Hennings himself is committed neither to Pick-Sloan nor to MVA nor to the Hoover plan, which his fellow-Missourian in the House, Representative Frank M. Karsten, espouses. He is committed only to the principles of a complete plan and a coherent management. If those principles can prevail, all shades of opinion that honestly want the Missouri Valley to be fully developed will be the winners.



St. Louis Post-Dispatch

High Water Never Reaches Us

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They Learn Without Books

Modern ways of making high school attendance a valuable experience for teen-agers who cannot profit from the usual curriculum.

AGNES N. BASS

THE LAWS PASSED SOME YEARS AGO MAKING SCHOOL COMpulsory in thirty-five states until the age of sixteen, have changed the high school picture almost beyond recognition. College minded students, once the backbone of high school, form only about one fifth of its population. The average boy and girl, once referred to by Mary Ellen Chase as "that delightful person, the C student," form about three fifths of the high school population; for them the general diploma course or its equivalent has been instituted. The remaining one fifth are pupils called, for want of a better name, slow learners. There are approximately 2,100,000 of them in the nation's high schools.

The slow learner, properly defined, is neither mentally nor emotionally retarded; he just happens to be a person, often very attractive, who is not interested in theories or abstractions. He deals not in thoughts but in things. We all know some boy or girl who cannot learn to spell or "do" arithmetic or grammar; the slow learner often is unable to master any of these subjects. His reading and grasp of mathematics are at a nine or ten-year-old level, although his age is, say fifteen; his IQ may be anywhere from 70 to 95. The usual textbooks for his age and grade are beyond him; his attention span is shorter than the average; he cannot respond to a curriculum based on verbal and intellectual skills which he does not possess. Vocational school attracts only the slow learner who has a special talent; commercial high school is too difficult for him. Such a pupil is no longer "kept back," repeating work that first or last he could never grasp; yet he must attend school until sixteen. So he finds himself in high school, restless and frustrated, his one idea to leave as soon as it is legally possible.

School authorities have not been happy over this situation, especially when they realized that of the 45 out of each 100 students who enter but do not finish high school, a large part are slow learners. Is it possible to devise a program that would have meaning for these children for the first and second years in high school, one that might even interest them for four full years?

It has been said that the slow learners "differ from their more able fellows only in their inability to learn the subjects we have always taught them in a way we have always taught them." And again, "we have been forcing them to study things that have little interest, promise, success, challenge or profit for them." Obviously an experimental program must take into consideration new subject matter and also new methods.

Many educators hold that to do this it is necessary to put these children (after careful "screening") into separate classes, offsetting their feeling of segregation by having them join the others of their age in athletics and extra-curricular activities. These classes are kept small and there is always a "home room" teacher who acts as her pupils' vocational, personal, and educational adviser. Educational journals have carried reports on such experiments for slow learners in Los Angeles, Calif., Ithaca, N. Y., Allentown, Pa., Newark, N. J., Richmond, Va., Oklahoma City, Okla., Rochester, N. Y., Indianapolis, Ind., Des Moines, Iowa, and New York City. These indicate that slow learners will give their attention and cooperation to a teacher when she starts with a concrete interest of their own, something with which they have had personal contact. Accepting the pupil as he is, the effort of the various programs is to discover these interests, to find ways of interpreting, broadening, and deepening them; then to take the pupil at his own speed as far as he can go.

Arithmetic fundamentals are learned not abstractly but by working on the family gas bills and food budgets; news reports serve as a starting point for history and geography; a lesson about social security as it affects the student and his family leads to a study of taxation. Lessons are "pupil-centered" because it has been found that this is the way these pupils learn.

ANOTHER VALUABLE TEACHING DEVICE IS TAKING THE CLASS on trips—to government buildings, docks, markets, factories, museums, studios, shops. Trips are concrete experiences: the student sees things instead of trying to understand them by way of a book that is either too hard for him or too easy. He becomes aware of what is going on about him and of the complex of activities and agencies that we call the community. There are courses in music and art and to these many pupils respond with eager interest. There is a certain amount of remedial work and drill in tool subjects such as reading and arithmetic, but many educators believe that insistence upon skills which he cannot acquire makes the student insecure and even neurotic.

The old idea that the slow normal can learn a "subject" if given more time or fewer details than the average pupil has been definitely discarded. The new approach is not to teach separate subjects at all in the early years of high school but rather to cut across such artificial lines

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—By a New Yorker whose chief interest is education and who has made a special study of public school curricula and practices. Mrs. Bass contributes occasional articles to The Survey *and other magazines.*

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and converge on some problem or area. In a New York City group, for example, several Puerto Rican girls suggested that they would like to learn something about the island from which they had come as small children. Their teacher found material, largely at travel agencies and in geographic magazines; the pictures were passed around, memories were evoked; discussion led on to the history of the Island, to the causes and results of emigration, to questions of housing in New York, employment, and so on. The origin of the study was personal—the goal was an understanding of large community problems. This method of "core" teaching is used in many junior and senior high schools for average as well as slow learners and it is likely to be vastly extended in the years ahead.

THE AIM OF THE SPECIAL PROGRAM FOR SLOW LEARNERS IS to develop the pupil as a person. A scholar he can never be and it now seems cruel to have tried to force him to try to be one. In the free atmosphere of a special class the slow learner gradually finds himself. Encouragement in group discussion, in choosing units of work and in some measure of responsibility give him a sense of self-esteem. Where in the old high school he was a restless or too docile nobody, here he becomes a more confident young person. In happier relations with his teachers his learning improves. More than once a slow learner, given a breathing space under the new program, has become an average student.

It is believed above all that slow learners, like fast learners, can be helped to improve as people—to develop desirable attitudes, habits, and standards of conduct, and become responsible, socially conscious citizens. The Life Adjustment program sponsored by the U. S. Office of Education and other organizations is applied in practice to the slow learner but through simpler books and simpler methods. In special classes in Richmond, Va., for example, there is study of citizenship, home life, getting and keeping a job. The program was planned to hold slow learners for one year, but these students are staying on for more. Indianapolis reports courses in home and community living, in occupational experience, and in civic obligations.

Once out in the world, the slow learner, it has been found, usually gets and keeps a semi-skilled job. Should high school provide occupational training? New York City would like to include "quasi-vocational training" in its program in home economics, handicrafts, simple household repairs, and so on, but for the most part lacks the equipment. Oklahoma City provides training for the boys in "simple mechanical operations." Rochester, New York, has 142 boys in a special trade school; it has arranged for alternate months in school and in industry for some of its girls. Teachers agree that a semi-skilled job can be learned quite easily outside of school, although special training in school facilitates getting and holding the first one.

What must be offered in school, however, is a program that will enrich this practical life that the slow learner is going to lead: show him where to find the books that he does not know he wants, to supplement the magazines he reads, and lead him to the enjoyment and practice of an art or craft.

The carrying out of these new ideas is more difficult, perhaps, than the layman realizes. Many high school classrooms are still old fashioned fixed desk and blackboard affairs; for the new scheme, shops, studios, kitchens, and laboratories are needed. Instructors comment on the almost complete lack of printed material that is simple in language and yet on the interest level of a fifteen-year-old. Not many good films and film strips are available; not all schools by any means have screens and projectors.

It is hard for teachers to gear themselves to a new philosophy and method; it is hard without tests and examinations to evaluate what they are doing. This new kind of high school teaching requires faith, patience, high enthusiasm. Many teachers have risen to the challenge. A recent survey of the program in New York City conducted by a citizens' group—the Teachers Guild Associates—revealed that most of the participating teachers approved it. They said it was "necessary and gave results"; that it was "satisfying," that this was "real teaching." Pupils themselves reported variously: "I was going to leave school. Now I'm not because of the experiment"; "I've made more friends"; "I've not learned much but I've learned about getting along with people."

One test is when slow learners reaching sixteen decide whether to leave school or stay on for more of the new program. Changes in the plan are constantly made; records of progress and areas of improvement have to be worked out on the basis of successes and failures. These are wrinkles that time will iron out. All our children belong today by law, by right, and by hope for the future in the secondary schools. What friends of young people need to know is that a beginning is being made to fit the needs of all while they are there. But this beginning urgently requires community understanding and encouragement.

Humility

My thanks for your forbearance.
The hand you reached to me,
Brown-skinned, held no remembrance
Of racial enmity.

So much my people owe you—
Dark wrongs not yet at end.
My thanks for your forgiveness
That lets me be your friend.

Nacella Young

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HICOG-Berlin: photo by Schubert

Left to right, Paul G. Hoffman, director, Ford Foundation; Dr. Hans von Kress, rector, Free University; Robert M. Hutchins, associate director, Ford Foundation; Ernst Reuter, Berlin's mayor.

The Free University of Berlin

America's part in a great modern adventure in education for democracy—a story which smacks of the Renaissance and the rise of the universities.

CARL G. ANTHON

THREE YEARS AGO NEXT MONTH A GREAT NEW UNIVERSITY was started literally from scratch. With a small quota of professors, a handful of hastily gathered books, and some furniture assembled in a motley group of damaged buildings, the Free University of West Berlin opened its doors in November 1948.

Today it is a well established institution with nearly 6,000 students and 250 faculty members with one common purpose: to promote education for democracy on both sides of the Iron Curtain. By virtue of its geographic location, it is the only university in the world that is able to reach youth in the Soviet orbit and help keep democratic thought alive there.

The Free University's significance and achievements have won recognition and support from the German and Allied authorities in Berlin as well as from people in this country. A recent grant of $1,309,500 from the Ford Foundation to help overcome some of the institution's most acute physical deficiencies has dramatized the vital role which the world's youngest university is playing in the ideological East-West struggle.

In prewar days, Berlin had only one university, the distinguished institution on *Unter den Linden,* founded in 1809 under the brilliant sponsorship of Wilhelm von Humboldt. During the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, when some of Europe's greatest scholars taught there, the University of Berlin stood for scientific attainment of the highest order. Up to 1933, when the first totalitarian blackout—that of the Nazis—fell upon German universities, numerous foreign students, particularly from America, went to Berlin to work for Ph.D. degrees.

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—By the Higher Education Adviser of the American High Commission at Berlin, earlier a senior historian of the Department of the Army. Former associate professor of European History at Colby College, Waterville, Maine, he bears postgraduate degrees from the Universities of Chicago and Harvard and has taught at Hamilton and Hobart Colleges, Cornell University, Harvard and Zurich.

UNFORTUNATELY, THE UNIVERSITY WAS LOCATED IN THE eastern part of the city which in April 1945 became the Soviet sector. When the USA, Britain, and France occupied the western sectors two months later, they tried at once, together with the Germans, to reopen the university under quadripartite control. This the Soviets blocked. They were determined to weld this important institution into the Communist pattern which they have imposed wherever Soviet armies hold sway.

After months of wrangling, which ended with the customary Soviet veto, the University of Berlin was reopened in February 1946 by unilateral Soviet decree. Like many other European universities, the old University of Berlin had suffered war damage. Many books had been evacuated to the country or were lost; many of its renowned professors had fallen victims to the Nazis or the war, or gone into voluntary exile.

Despite these difficulties, the students and the available teachers might have gone ahead to rebuild their university. However, the Soviets had taken measures necessary to assure a subservient institution. An academic community with scholars of integrity in search of truth would result in a negation of Communism and would be a thorn in its flesh. In admitting new students, children of workers and peasants were to have preference over the sons and daughters of "capitalists," "reactionaries," and

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"parasites." (Soon, the latter were not admitted to any German university under Soviet control unless they were "politically progressive.") A new Pedagogics Faculty (department) was established to which vociferous Communist instructors were appointed. Compulsory lectures in "social science" were introduced which bore little resemblance to Western instruction in this field. Worst of all, democratically elected student representatives who did not do the bidding of the Communists were consistently thwarted by the Soviet authorities.

Such changes were going on at all universities throughout the Soviet Zone. In fact, the process of "Sovietization" was proceeding much faster throughout the Soviet Zone than in its East Berlin sector, where the nearby presence of Western powers had a moderating effect. Two-year preparatory schools, so-called Workers' and Peasants' Faculties, were set up at each university to help produce a new generation of Communist students. Special stipends and other advantages were bestowed on students and instructors in such schools. Significantly, these Workers' and Peasants' Faculties, with their total annual admissions of 4,000 new students compared with 6,000 in the regular Faculties (1950 figures), were made an integral part of the university system. Along with newly created Pedagogics Faculties, they could exercise a powerful influence against the other, more conservative, or in the Communist sense, "reactionary," university Faculties.

Nor were professors and research scientists neglected. They were wooed with monthly "intelligentsia" food packages, higher rations, and other emoluments. At the start they were not molested—provided they did not openly attack the Communist authorities. In each university a few trusted party-line professors were relied upon to accelerate the process of Communist "democratization."

In the student body, youthful "activists"—usually functionaries of the Communist Free German Youth (FDJ) or other party affiliates—began to undermine the work of students and professors who sought to rebuild any university along democratic lines. By 1951 the student councils in all Soviet Zone universities, by means of manipulated "elections," have become completely subservient to the Communists.

In 1946, however, when the University of Berlin resumed its work, it was by no means clear that the Communist ideology would win out there. Students and professors sought to avoid politics and strove to regain time lost by the war. But when in 1947 the Soviets began dismissing non-conforming professors and student leaders, opposition began to crystallize. In March of that year six student leaders "disappeared," that is, were kidnapped. They never have been heard from since.

Opposition centered largely around the University student paper, *Colloquium,* which rapidly became the organ of democratic student opposition throughout the Soviet Zone. Most of its contributors had themselves suffered from Nazi oppression; they were determined to resist this new totalitarian threat of a different color. They published numerous articles on academic freedom which represented a sharp attack on Soviet occupation methods. It was hardly surprising, therefore, when in April 1948 a Soviet administrative decree expelled three student editors of *Colloquium.*

This arbitrary action sparked a mass protest meeting of university students in the bizarre ruins of the Esplanade Hotel, a few yards inside the safe British sector. It was a dramatic meeting and its organizers, the group around *Colloquium,* carried heavy risks and responsibility. It was entirely possible that Communist spies would report on all participants, and that mass arrests would follow the next day. Nevertheless, the demand for a new, genuinely free university to be located in West Berlin was unanimously voiced at the meeting.

Long before this, American and British military governments had been approached by individual professors and students for assistance in establishing such a university in one of the western sectors. Neither government could accede at that time because it would have jeopardized relations with the Soviets with whom we were trying desperately to rule Berlin quadripartitely. Now in 1948 it was time for action. The city assembly, meeting as usual in the Soviet sector, defiantly passed a resolution, 83 to 17, directing the *Magistrat* (city government) to establish a free university in West Berlin.

A preparatory committee was organized on June 19, comprising twelve leaders in science, politics, and public life. This was headed by Ernst Reuter, Berlin's plucky mayor, himself an ex-Communist who had broken with the party in the Twenties. It was fitting that this body had two student representatives since the main initiative in the secession move had come from the students themselves. They were destined to have a real and permanent voice in the affairs of the Free University.

The summer of 1948 was hardly an auspicious time for such a great educational project. The municipality could not alone finance the undertaking, still caught in stagnant economy of a city half ruined by war and four-fifths looted by its Soviet "liberators." Citizens and government alike have had to live from hand to mouth. More ominously, since March of that year a Soviet-imposed blockade was creeping on that threatened to starve the population into submission. On the very day (June 24) that a Free University secretariat was established, Soviet Russia stopped all rail traffic between West Berlin and West Germany, on which it chiefly relied. Beginning August 4, and lasting for eight and a half months, Berlin was totally blockaded by land and water.

The same spirit which stirred West Berliners, maintained by the redoubtable Allied "air lift," to defy the blockade, now inspired democratic students and professors—with American backing and encouragement—to create a new university from the ground up. The American military government contributed $600,000 derived from the sale of American-issued German language publications; the rest came from city appropriations. Since that time USA authorities have financed about 25 percent of the Free University's annual budget of approximately 8 million marks (nearly $2 million).

The problem of housing the university was not an easy one. Fortunately, a few odd sized, partly damaged buildings, situated in the suburb of Dahlem, were made available by the American military government. The buildings had formerly belonged to the *Kaiser Wilhelm Institut,* a *Reich*-financed organization for pure research liquidated by quadripartite decree in 1945. Dahlem, as a matter of fact, was the logical location. Since 1914 there had been plans to transfer the University of Berlin from

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its crowded downtown area to this sylvan suburb.

Students and professors volunteered to help repair and furnish these modest quarters. Tables, chairs, and books seemed to crop up overnight. No library existed in West Berlin, but thousands of volumes were contributed by American agencies and private donors.

More than 3,500 students applied for admission to the new university. Their qualifications were excellent, but due to the extremely limited facilities, only 2,200 could be selected. In sifting them, special consideration was given to resistance to Nazism and general political conduct. As a result, only 8 percent of the original enrollment had been *Reich* army officers or had held positions in Hitler organizations—a lower figure than at other German universities. Twenty percent came from working class families, while roughly 25 percent were women. Both of these ratios are in sharp contrast to prewar figures.

It seemed almost a miracle when on November 4, 1948, the Free University opened its doors. About 100 professors and teaching assistants, organized in three Faculties —medicine, philosophy (the liberal arts), and law-economics were available. Most of them had come over from the old University of Berlin, and more were coming every week, both from East and West Germany. Typical of the spirit which upheld students and teachers alike in those days was the action of Professor Friedrich Meinecke, the distinguished dean of German historians, who despite his 86 years and many honors from the old University of Berlin, threw in his lot with the new institution in the name of freedom. He was elected its first rector, but because of his frail health, the art historian, Edwin Redslob, became acting rector.

By the time of the official opening, Berlin had become more than ever a divided city. In June 1948, the Soviets withdrew from the four-power *Kommandatura* which had ruled the city as a whole since 1945. They were never persuaded to return. On December 1, the Communists staged a political *opéra buffe* in the State Opera House, setting up their own party-line *Magistrat.* When the anti-Communist representatives of the city assembly tried to oppose this action they were dispersed by Communist police and riff-raff. The democratically elected *Magistrat,* the only legal government of Berlin, thereupon left the Soviet sector and took up its quarters in West Berlin.

Berlin now had two governments, two economic systems, two sets of theaters and opera houses, and two ideologies. Ordinary logic required two universities. However, the Free University was to serve not only the students of West Berlin but also to offer democratic higher education to thousands of young people who, for political reasons, were debarred from the universities in the Soviet Zone.

Naturally enough, certain unique features have sprung from the special circumstances entering into the founding of the Free University and the numerous problems attending life in a four-sector city, surrounded by a hostile power. At no other university, for example, do students have such far-reaching rights and responsibilities. Nowhere else are the functions of the student council so extensive. At few universities in the western world are physical deficiencies, for both students and professors, quite so acute and challenging. Finally, no other university is a fighting university to the degree that the Free University of Berlin is sharing in the struggle against totalitarianism.

The special committee entrusted with the drafting of the Free University's constitution recognized these circumstances. To assure a certain measure of autonomy, a governing board, or *Kuratorium,* was provided for, consisting of Mayor Reuter (chairman), three representatives of the city assembly, three leading citizens, the university rector, a representative of the professors, and one of the students. This is in contrast to West German universities which are administered directly by the *land* (province or state) ministry of education. Further, the constitution provides for the participation of student representatives, with full voting powers, in all academic and administrative bodies, from the highest to the lowest levels. Thus, representative students sit with the governing board in the university senate, and in all faculty meetings.

Every candidate for admission must submit to an investigation—usually a brief interview and oral examination—by a special committee consisting of one professor, one student, and a representative of the public. The committee tries to examine not only the academic ability of the applicant, but also his personal and political background. The task is not an easy one. At least five times as many students apply as can be admitted. Moreover, it is well known that the Communists try to "plant" agents to report on fellow students from the Soviet Zone. In evaluating a Soviet Zone student's academic qualifications, the committee is seriously handicapped by the fact that academic records from that area are no longer reliable. A student may present most alluring references and grades, all given him because of his "political progressivism," that is, his Communist attitude. On the other hand, poor grades may mean simply "insufficient political progressivism."

In grappling with these problems a special office of the student council has been set up—the *Referat für Gesamtdeutsche Fragen* (Office for All-German Questions). This systematically gathers information on university, school, and youth developments in the Soviet Zone, which helps in testing the background and status of East Zone students and professors who, for various reasons, seek to come to the West.

From the beginning, about 40 percent of the Free University's students (in 1951, the total enrollment was 5,800) have come from the Soviet sector and Zone. Most of these students return to their homes during holidays and vacations without risk of arrest by the Communist police. But those who have been and continue to be politically active in the anti-Communist sense can never safely set foot on Soviet occupied soil. To go to West Germany students must travel by air, since Berlin is surrounded by the Soviet Zone and Communist police at the border check-points may have orders to arrest them. Many such students are flown to West German universities at the expense of the Free University's Office for All-German Questions.

The process of admitting students from the Soviet Zone is aggravated by the fact that almost all of them require financial assistance if they are to live and study in West Berlin. The West German mark is now worth approximately five times as much as the East German. Almost no person with an income in East marks—un-

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less he is a Communist functionary—could finance himself in the hard currency area of West Berlin. The city government therefore appropriates an annual sum of about 8 million marks (nearly $2 million) to pay monthly stipends of 80 marks each to some 4,000 Soviet Zone students in West Berlin. This applies to students at West Berlin colleges and vocational schools as well as to those at the Free University. The "currency stipend," though it enables the recipients to study and exist, represents a life of deprivation almost incomprehensible to American students.

Yet thousands more would come from the Soviet Zone, given the chance. If they exceed the established quota of 4,000 they may be admitted to other West Berlin schools but only if they pledge themselves not to ask for financial aid. Others simply flee their homes and apply to the city authorities for refuge. If they can prove that their life and liberty are endangered by their political activities (or those of their kin) they are officially recognized as refugees and given subsistence at one of the 40-odd refugee camps in West Berlin. Still others, being neither recognized as refugees nor willing to return to a world of tyranny, "go under" and eke out a "black" existence as best they can.

In an emergency area like Berlin, welfare work assumes huge proportions. Today, over 40 percent of West Berlin's population of 2,100,000 live on public relief. This is where the Free University's student welfare office *(Sozialreferat)*, another agency of the student council, enters in, for it screens and recommends thousands of applicants for stipends, free tuition, and other aid. The more complicated cases go to the rector, but the bulk are handled by student officers. So, too, are disbursals—stipend payments to some 2,700 students, a monthly fiscal operation of 200,000 marks (nearly $50,000). This implies great trust in the integrity and judgment of the student organization; so far that trust has been amply justified.

Another office *(Aussenreferat)* conducts relations with students at other institutions in West Germany and in foreign countries. Student exchanges with American colleges, Columbia and Swarthmore for example, constitute an important part of this program.

Students who desire part time employment—and there are many—register with the *Heinzelmännchen*. During the current year some 1,400 students have found odd jobs ranging from baby-sitting to tourist guidance. Work is difficult to get, however, in a city with 300,000 unemployed and a far less flexible economy than ours.

Still another student organization, the *Studentenwerk*, which is affiliated with a national organization of the same name, operates the dining hall, co-op store, club house, health unit, and loan office. These student facilities are most unpretentious. The dining hall is a one-story shack accommodating 300 persons. The tiny kitchen prepares more than 5,000 meals a day, most of them distributed by truck to the other university buildings. The co-op store is a converted lean-to greenhouse. The clubhouse, a former private home a mile from the main buildings, is well situated and furnished, but is hopelessly inadequate for an institution with almost 6,000 students.

Food prepared in the student mess includes one free meal. This is part of a U. S. financed school feeding program designed to bolster health and morale. The Communist administration carries out a similar feeding program in the Soviet sector and Zones. Our program, which costs 8 million marks a year, provides one warm meal daily for every West Berlin student from nursery school through university. Some have little else to eat.

The recent opportune Ford Foundation grant will go a long way to alleviate some of the Free University's physical handicaps. It will make possible an up-to-date dining hall, including some social facilities for faculty and students. It will enable the university to construct a modern central library and several large lecture halls. At present, the university's collection of books (some 100,000 volumes) is scattered among fifty departmental libraries all over the city; there is no reading room, no central catalogue, reference or periodical room. The shortage of lecture halls is so acute that barracks, a movie theater, and other makeshift quarters have to be used. Some departments—chemistry, for example—are so scattered that students have to travel for miles to five different places in West Berlin to get to classes and laboratories.

So far there exists no "campus" in the American sense. The dispersal of buildings over a wide area results in loss of time and energy, and hinders the development of a university community. There are no dormitories, no athletic or recreational facilities. On the other hand, German students, by background and tradition, are less given to extra-curricular activities and, especially since World War II, seek only to finish their education in the shortest possible time.

Too much emphasis, however, should not be placed on these material shortcomings. The important thing is that the élan of 1948 continues to inspire faculty and students at the Free University. Under the leadership of the present rector, Prof. Hans von Kress (formerly professor of internal medicine at the University of Berlin) students and faculty are at one in keeping reactionary elements, of whatever color, out of the university community. The old-fashioned, nationalistic student corporations (akin to fraternities), which have been revived at many West German universities with all their trimmings and trappings including dueling, have not gained a foothold at the Free University of Berlin. The student parliament refused to grant them a license. Similarly, a recent attempt to organize a student group of the *Sozialistische Reichspartei*, the neo-Nazi party in West Germany led by the former Nazi general, Otto Ernst Remer, met with ridicule and sharp rebuff by the student parliament.

In yet another way the new institution plans to pioneer among German universities. With the help of the Ford Foundation grant, it will be the first to give extension courses to help employed persons complete or supplement their education. Adult education in Germany hitherto was carried on only by *Volkshochschulen* (people's high schools) from which the universities conspicuously held aloof. Rector von Kress feels that the universities have a responsibility in this field, and the Free University is determined to take up the challenge.

In fact, it is the hope and ambition of this new institution's leaders and their Allied friends that it can light the way to progressive, democratic education throughout West Germany and ultimately across its borders.

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Youth in East Germany

A report from a former school teacher in East Germany, now living in the western zone. It must be published anonymously, since the writer's relatives are still in Russian-occupied territory.

After the German collapse in 1945, three political parties were organized in East Germany; the Christian Democratic Party (CDU), the Liberal Democratic Party (LDP), and the Socialist Unity Party (SED), a more or less forced union between the Social Democrats and the Communists. SED insisted that there should be only one "nonpartisan" youth organization, the FDJ (*Freie Deutsche Jugend*, or Free German Youth). Supported by the Russian occupation forces, SED swiftly brought the youth organization under its own control, and used it for its own purposes as it had done with the other "mass organizations"—the trade unions, the Democratic Women's League, and the *Kulturbund*.

Older youth, when they resumed their university study in 1945 elected an overwhelming majority of representatives of the CDU and the LDP to the student council. Some leaders were promptly sentenced by the Russians to twenty years of hard labor, or sent to concentration camps "for consorting with the western powers." Some simply disappeared without a trace. In 1949, voting privileges in the student council elections were extended to those attending the new preparatory institutes. The resulting change in the student body gave the SED a clear majority.

The youth organization in the Soviet Zone consists of the Pioneers (the six to fourteen-year-olds) and the FDJ proper. Pioneer groups are placed under a leader who is either a member of the FDJ, a student, or a teacher. By serving as such a leader, one can prove one's "socialized activity."

Boys and girls join the FDJ at the age of fifteen. The social and economic pressure is so strong that few dare remain out of the organization. Membership signifies loyalty to the state, nonmembership is interpreted as enmity toward the state. Permission to enter high school or university, and any scholarship help depend on membership in the FDJ, as does advancement in public life. Every class must report monthly the number of pupils who belong to the Pioneers and the FDJ, for the school is judged "politically" by its total membership.

The smallest units of the FDJ are the house, school, factory, and village groups, each under a group leader who receives his instruction from the next higher authority. Delegates from the small groups go to the county conventions and there elect the county officers; county delegates at the *Land* (state or provincial) conventions elect the next hierarchy, who in turn send delegates to the Youth Parliament where the Central Council—the highest authority—is chosen.

In addition to the general social and economic pressures, the young people are won over by the privilege of wearing special uniforms which set them apart from others. They have their "own" magazines, *Young Pioneer*, *Young World*, and *Youth*, especially put together *for* them (not *by* them). The FDJ has its own songbook, too, which bears the title "Our Songs—Our Life."

Constantly these young people are told that as leaders of the future (we hear again the Nazi expression "Guarantors of the Future") they will do everything better than the "capitalist exploiters" of their culture. The SED party newspapers give young people as "youth correspondents" the right to make accusations, without any kind of hearing or defense for the accused. For example, a school class, dissatisfied with its teacher, may demand his removal. The "voice of the people" must of course be obeyed.

So-called "young activists" are encouraged. For instance, a street car may be run by a young driver and conductor, or a railroad car left for repair by youngsters who are unable to proceed without the assistance and advice of experienced workers. Further, young people are brought, in an irresponsible way, into positions of great responsibility, for which years of preparation are needed, as when a first year teacher is made school principal or when in a big city like Leipzig a twenty-two-year-old is appointed deputy mayor.

Youth is given inappropriate rights. Thus, a representative of the FDJ participates in all school faculty meetings; he even sits on the university entrance examination committee, though as a pupil of the eleventh grade he is unfamiliar with the subject matter. Scholarship awards are made mainly on the strength of a social evaluation by the FDJ through which all applications are channeled. Scholastic standing is of no avail if the FDJ's rating of "social ability" falls short.

The major objective is to shift the whole social structure so that only the children of workers and peasants will enter high schools and universities. A regulation that a high school class be organized only when 50 percent of its pupils are children of workers or peasants has so far proved unenforceable because these groups as a rule do not give their children that much schooling. Therefore, special preparatory institutes have been established for workers' and farmers' children to get them ready for higher education. These institutes have the misleading name of "Workers and Farmers Faculty" taken over from the Soviet Union. The courses at first lasted eight months, then two years, then three years. The instruction is free, the monthly maintenance scholarship adequate, with special consideration for married students.

There is no chance for the young people of East Germany to compare themselves with others or to form independent judgments. No newspapers from the West Zone may be read; even CARE package wrappings are removed. Marxism-Leninism is the only recognized scientific system and, in the logic of SED, it is *therefore* the truth. Every teacher is sworn to Marxism—otherwise he cannot teach in a public school, and private schools do not exist. All youth leaders must take the Marxist training course.

In order to encourage ambition the FDJ grants three "Medals for Good Knowledge." What one must know is laid down explicitly, with exact answers for every question. The examination covers the constitution of the FDJ and of the German Democratic Republic, the workers movement, Soviet literature and conditions in the Soviet Union. Young people form groups called "Learn-Actives" and cram by rote for the exam. This leaves scant time for their regular school work. Along with this political "good knowledge" they acquire the current political jargon, and it is especially sad to hear the overworked political phrases and meaningless platitudes from the lips of girls and boys. Anything which contradicts the teaching and the demands of the Party is considered treasonable or subversive.

Finally, the FDJ gives youth the chance to feel the power of the masses by having them take part in all marching demonstrations, or in the huge assemblies. This sense of power conceals the lack of individual value and the meaninglessness of actions as such, but at the same time it stirs powerful emotions. And to misuse youth's capacity for enthusiasm means nothing less than to misuse our children's most priceless possession.

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Trailer Camp Slums

A new kind of slum, the permanent trailer camp offers all the bad features of the urban "blighted area," none of the vacation adventure for which trailers were made.

ALEXANDER C. WELLINGTON

ARRIVING HOME FROM THE OFFICE ONE EVENING I FOUND a family of strangers parked on our porch—a nervous young couple and two bright-faced children, with a belligerent little wire-haired terrier.

Coffee and cake eased the tension; and they told me a story which eventually led to a survey of the permanent trailer camps in a wide area. What they said about the trailer camp about a mile away which was their only home showed that they were "displaced persons" as truly as their prototypes in Europe or Asia. On that night, three years ago, I first learned that another kind of slum was rapidly and surreptitiously springing up, to deface the American scene.

Since then I have visited many permanent trailer camps scattered around the industrial centers of Pennsylvania, Ohio, West Virginia, and Maryland. And from correspondence I have learned of similar camps in South Carolina, North Carolina, Florida, Kentucky, Georgia, Missouri, Indiana, New York, and Texas.

In my investigations I have been aided by two trained and experienced interviewers; and have checked many of my local findings with a police officer, who, along with his daily contact with crime, has made the study of its causes and effects his hobby.

We used a simple questionnaire to acquire data on family composition, ages, size of trailer, occupation, former home, reasons for taking up life in a trailer camp, length of occupancy in present and previous camps, rental and other costs, advantages and disadvantages. "Remarks" and all volunteered information were also noted. The inability of civic officials to give any real data on the subject was a handicap that points up the contention that the menace of the trailer camp slum is both serious and insidious.

In referring to the trailer camp slum I do not, of course, mean the well laid-out, beautified site that caters to the needs of families on vacation stop-overs. Such camps are well organized and sanitary; their visitors are families that have regular homes to return to. But these now have their debased counterpart in permanent-occupancy trailer camps where men, women, and children live the year round a more or less primitive existence.

Their very condensation, their capsule-like concentration, makes the evil dosage that much more potent and brings festering irritation more quickly to a head, than in the long familiar old-type city slums.

Most permanent-occupancy trailer camps are located on random clearings where the land use rent is extremely cheap. Four such camps in adjoining counties in western Pennsylvania are typical examples:

Trailer Camp A, on a gently sloping piece of ground about the size of a squared city block, was formerly a deep hollow receiving for years the accumulation of dump-truck refuse. Upon this foundation of tin cans, old papers, broken bottles, and what not, earth was dumped and leveled off to make the site.

Trailer Camp B is on a fairly level acre and a half of ground, formerly used for gardening, but which, because of the worn-out soil, had failed to yield a satisfactory revenue.

Trailer Camp C rests on a huge slag dump simply leveled off—without any top dressing—to make an acre of space for trailers.

Trailer Camp D, the smallest of the four, triangular in shape, occupies ground over an abandoned coal mine. The absentee landlord permits the camp manager to live in the one house on the grounds; the house is slowly sinking. In these camps, the same families live the seasons round, year in and year out.

The number of families bears no relationship to the size of the site; location and accessibility are the determining factors. Twenty-three families live at Camp A; while at Camp C, not much larger, there are thirty-two. The largest ground area of the four, but most distant from an industrial section, Camp B, boasts of only eighteen families. Though new families have moved in there recently the trailers are concentrated into a central core, hopefully leaving the periphery available for future newcomers. Camp D, with the smallest area of the four, contains twenty-one families.

IN ALL THESE CAMPS ONLY ELEMENTARY PHYSICAL FACILITIES are available and no attempts have been made at landscaping.

At Camp A the ground rental started out at $11 a month; slightly more than a year later it was boosted to $14. At Camp B it is $23; at Camp C, $19; and at Camp D, $16. The reason for this differential is obscure, for Camp A, while the worst of the four, is most accessible to streetcar and highway travel, while Camp B is in the most out-of-the-way location. To the rental are added charges for electricity and fuel—$2 to $3 monthly for current (depending upon the appliances used) and

—By the assistant manager of a public housing project in Pittsburgh, who in his spare time translates literary and scientific works and writes adventure stories, magazine feature articles, and, currently, a book on workaday-psychology.

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about $3 monthly for bottled gas or an equivalent.

The low quality of available equipment corresponds to the low rent. Bathing, laundry, and toilet facilities are usually located in the basement of the house occupied by the camp manager. At Camp A when first visited, such equipment included one commode, one rough board shower room hardly bigger than a telephone booth, and, surprisingly, two modern automatic washing machines. Subsequently, an additional commode and another shower cubicle made it possible to label two rooms with the legends "Ladies" and "Gents." Since this is all that is available for seventy-five people, many families have equipped their trailers with galvanized wash-tubs and old-fashioned *chambres de nuit*.

Electric current comes from a line from the manager's house to the individual trailer. In some camps each trailer has its own meter; in others, current is supplied on a *pro rata* basis. In Ohio we ran across a permanent-occupancy camp where the current is supplied at a flat rate to the owner who arbitrarily fixes the charges for each family, on the basis of how much the traffic will bear. Two young couples there showed the interviewers electricity charges of $8 a month each. The only appliances either couple used were two 60 watt bulbs for lighting, a refrigerator, and an iron. At another Ohio camp, with over 300 families, the owner has resourcefully created a third lucrative source of revenue by requiring each applicant for space to purchase a trailer, new or second hand, from him.

THE PROBLEM OF DRAINAGE IS SOLVED IN PRIMITIVE WAYS. At Camp A, one large deep hole (covered at night by planks and guarded by a red lantern) receives all dish water and other liquid refuse which is supposed to seep through the clay sides and bottom and finally disappear. Camp C has a number of smaller holes, strategically placed.

Rubbish disposal is left up to the individual families, who burn it where they can. Garbage disposal, more difficult, usually involves some attempt at regulation. At Camp A each family is required to supply its own garbage can and to dump the contents about a quarter mile away in an unconverted part of the same hollow on which the camp site is located. Some camp managers levy an assessment of $1 a month against each family for weekly garbage removal.

Two other defects degrade permanent trailer camps to a slum level—their dreary locations, devoid even of grass, and the lack of play space and equipment for children. While a few of the better permanent-occupancy camps have set aside play space and have installed jungle gyms, slides, swings, and sand boxes, in the vast majority the children are simply turned loose to play where and how they can.

Almost every camp is a sea of mud in the spring and fall.

Stronger even than these primitive physical conditions as factors leading to the slum level of life in trailer camps is the overcrowding, both inside and outside the trailers.

The overcrowding of the land and compactness of the little hamlet precludes any sense of separateness for a trailer family. The bit of ground surrounding each trailer is too small for gardening or for fencing off a play area for the children. The result is a neighbor-in-your-yard mode of living that robs a family of any sense or actual practice of privacy, of any opportunity for real withdrawal into itself, so essential to healthy family life. Sounds carry from within the trailers, too, so that the affairs of one family become the common knowledge of all. As there is no room for play inside the children are outside whenever the weather permits. They are everywhere underfoot, adding to the general sense of bedlam.

The cramped quarters within the trailer put up a real obstacle to wholesome family relationships, particularly when there are children. However ingenious the subdivision of the space into fore, middle, and aft compartments the family lives essentially in one room. The trailers at Camp A, for example, are about 6½ feet high, 7 feet wide; and range from 18 feet to an "oversized" 33 feet in length. Designed on an efficiency basis they crowd a "maximum of necessities" into an average space of about 1,100 cubic feet.

AS A RESULT OF CRAMPED SPACE, INDIVIDUAL PRIVACY IS impossible. Conversations between husband and wife and the sounds of other intimacies easily reach the children's ears. Parents and children get in each other's way, while retirement for study, reading, reflection, is all but impossible.

There are, of course, specially built, *de luxe* trailers costing $5,000, that are sound-proof, possess all conceivable conveniences including shower and inside toilet, have proper doors, and provide as much space as some city "efficiency" apartments. But *these* are not the possessions of the economic groups that inhabit Camps, A, B, C, and D, and other trailer slums. Usually they belong to people who do not have to live in them the year round, but use them for the travel purposes for which trailers were originally conceived.

Lack of privacy, poor sanitation, substandard environment for children, are, of course, not confined to trailer camps, but are ordinary conditions of slums everywhere. Nevertheless, trailer camps, as slums, have certain unique aspects.

One is the way in which they grow up overnight, slums ready-made from the start, ready-to-hand for occupancy. City slums, on the other hand, are not sudden creations but have evolved rather from a long history of gradual deterioration.

A corollary to the trailer camp's overnight appearance as a full-blown slum is the suddenness with which most of the occupants have transferred from the lower middle class world to a slum world, without intermediate steps and without preparation. Most trailer camp families have come from homes that are not slum areas, homes that provided more space and more adequate facilities. They usually turned to trailer living after finding themselves at the short end of a housing shortage. Few of them envisioned the slum-level mode of existence the trailer camp would provide.

The impact of slum living upon families unprepared for a real drop in living standards is terrific. Most of them never really become adjusted. For there exists here no social pattern, and no civic structure, into which the individual family can fit as a part of the whole.

The trailer camp is unique among slums also through the presence of the camp manager whose role varies with the individual. In some camps—as in Camp A—he is a

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veritable tyrant, a little Caesar whose arrogance creates violent hatred. In other camps he may veer to the opposite extreme, and practice paternalism to a point which to sensitive persons makes him as intolerable as an overbearing tyranny. Those camps are fortunate where the manager is a middle-of-the-roader.

There are other important differences between ordinary slums and trailer camps. The resident of the city slum is, on an average, a long time occupant. He feels that he is part of the community at large; he is able to make life-long friendships. *Aware* of his condition, he *is* able to make concerted effort with his fellows, and to work with social agencies to better conditions. In contrast, the resident of the trailer slum is a bewildered occupant. Even after several years residence he fails to acquire the feeling of being "established." Since he does not identify with the larger community, he has a sense of isolation, of "not belonging." While he does not articulately recognize his surroundings as "slum," he feels himself always on the fringe. His neighbor is someone he may see for a year or two, and then never again. Friendships tend to be as transitory as those on shipboard.

CHILDREN GROWING UP IN TRAILER CAMPS ALSO ARE APT TO feel themselves apart and are helped along in this too frequently by their classmates from more stable neighborhoods. As long as most children live in houses or apartments, be they ever so dilapidated, the child who lives in a trailer will feel uncomfortably different.

Camp A contains forty-eight adults and twenty-seven children. The eldest adult is a gentle old fellow of 74, eking out an existence from odd jobs. The youngest child is six weeks old. Most of the family heads have modest jobs, a few have good jobs.

Life was teeming the day we first visited Camp A. Children shrieked, adults shouted, radios blared. From one of the trailers came the tortuous moans of a saxophone, manipulated by a middle-aged, crippled woman. Three neighbor boys, between nine and ten, stood in front of her open door, imitating her efforts mockingly. The woman glared at them from rolling, furious eyes, her face red from exertion, but she kept on playing the instrument. No one called the boys away, though one mother was observant enough to remark: "If it ain't one thing here, it's another, where everybody is on exhibition like in a zoo."

"None of us were used to such kind of living before we came here, and it's sort of hard to take," said Mr. Ryan, a mechanic, somewhere in his thirties, who was painting his trailer on the week-end holiday.

The Ryans (not their real name) have been in camp almost four years. They have two children, a boy of six, and a girl about three. Mrs. Ryan, plump and pretty, sighed wistfully: "I saw the nicest maplewood furniture for a young boy's room, single bed, chiffonier, two chairs, and a desk. There was a blue rug, and hangings to match, with pirates woven in them, a bedside lamp that had a pirate ship painted on the parchment shade. Jimmy would love it. That's what I miss most, I think—no place for the things you want, the things you just *ache* to buy."

Mrs. Ryan's remarks point up an important, if somewhat obvious economic fact: that the lack of space nullifies the normal buying trend of trailer camp families. Most of these families could, and normally would, purchase the usual household goods: furniture, rugs, curtains, dishes, framed pictures, washing machines, and so on down the list, adding to their possessions or replacing them each year. For this market, at least, these families represent zero to their local merchants.

Unfortunately, it cannot be reported that the money not spent on household goods is saved. Motivated by what some call the "itch" to buy—trailer dwellers purchase all sort of gadgets for their automobiles; "play the numbers" for higher amounts; gamble more recklessly on cards. At least this is what they report. One numbers player carefully explained that though he still "boxed" a number he now played it for six times as much as he used to risk.

While we were talking to the Ryans a young girl, about 10, suddenly squatted down beside their trailer, boosting up her skirts.

"Peggy!" exclaimed Mrs. Ryan, "don't you dare! You know your mother doesn't permit you to act that way."

Peggy just grinned and didn't budge.

"The few toilets we have are so far away," Mrs. Ryan explained, reddening, "that some of the children have gotten into bad habits. If the camp manager ever catches them, he raises Cain. He likes to lord it over us, anyway. Honestly, all we need is barbed wire around the camp to make it the real thing," she added.

Two little girls trotted by. A running boy jostled one, and she set up a pathetic wail holding one arm in a protective manner. The hand and part of the arm were bandaged heavily, the stiffly swollen arm showing reddish-purple beyond the dirty-white bandage. "Poor Ruth," said a woman conversationally, "she got badly bitten a few days ago. Her mother was a young widow with three children, and Ruth, who is almost seven, is the eldest. Last week her mother married again, and I guess . . . " The woman looked away uneasily, then went on.

"Well, anyway, they bought a pup tent, thinking that during the nice weather Ruth could sleep in the tent. But the very first night the most awful screams woke everybody up. Two big rats had attacked Ruth. Good thing it wasn't her face they chewed, wasn't it? We got *hundreds* of rats here."

"It's damp here," she added reflectively. "Too close to the ground for all-year living. Except in hot weather, of course."

So life goes on in Camp A and in other camps like it, and the children pay.

WHO ARE THESE FAMILIES? WHERE DID THEY COME from, and why did they "elect" to live in trailers?

The trailer occupants are of two groups: the in-migrant and the local. Their proportion varies in different camps, depending chiefly upon whether the camp site is handy to an industrial area and upon the availability of work.

The in-migrants can themselves be divided into two groups: the vast majority are migratory industrial workers, while a relatively small number are veterans attending school under the GI Bill. In trailer Camps B and C, for example, some migrants have come from neighboring northern states, but the bulk are from the South—particularly from Chattanooga and Nashville. Most of them are electricians and construction workers,

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drawn by the higher wages and better working conditions "up North."

On the other hand, at a camp in eastern Ohio, with 74 families, 60 percent are local, 30 percent come from a radius of 100 miles, and 10 percent from other sections, as far south as South Carolina. The expectation of residency for the in-migrants is about two years, determined by the contract held by the firm employing the fathers, husbands, and sons. Upon completion of the contract, the trailer wheels will be moving again. The trailers will be in new locations, the children in other schools. There is neither time nor place to put down roots or to establish lasting friendships.

The local families, however, provide the steady nucleus for continued occupancy of trailer camp slums. Who are these families (95 percent of Camp A) who promptly dewheeled their trailers upon arrival at camp, as a sort of grim preparation for a long, long stay? Economically they belong roughly in the lower section of the middle class. They are all white and, at Camps A and C, at least, are all native born. So far as the writer has been able to learn, there are no camps catering to both white and Negro families; and there seem to be only a few all-Negro permanent trailer camps, none apparently above the Mason-Dixon line. Where they do exist their occupants are laborers employed at construction camps.

At Camp A the inhabitants represent many different trades and occupations—clerks, truck drivers, cab drivers, mill hands, independent salesmen. None of them is employed in any sort of executive capacity. Most of the couples are young or youngish. Only three are childless. Most of them have two or three children, but three families have four children each. Most of the children attend elementary school, though a few are in high school.

Why did these families move into trailer camps? They gave the following reasons:

Young couples were doubled up with relatives, leading to family tensions

The natural desire of a family to start married life by itself

A former landlord raised the rent to a figure the family could not afford

Inability to find separate accommodations

A yearning to own a home of their own and inability to afford any other kind

Refusal to separate their children from a loved animal companion, either cat or dog, as required in most apartments

Inability to find proper quarters in which children were permitted

A vague idea that trailer life was adventurous

A well defined case of monophobia on the part of either husband or wife, usually the latter

No one of course, actually said he was suffering from "monophobia." But a few persons maintained they preferred trailer living because they "liked the family being all together in one room; not scattered off through a house, leaving me all alone." Or, it made them feel "happy seeing the rest of the family so close around, that they could reach out and touch them any time, even in the night." Unlike most of the others they seemed to feel no need for a little privacy.

Without exception, the families agreed that the housing shortage was the basic cause leading them to take to the trailer—and this held true for both in-migrants and local families. Fully 90 percent of all persons interviewed wanted desperately to move into a house or apartment.

Only a few families made any preliminary inquiry concerning the site to which they were moving. They had been interested only in assuring themselves of having a site. Fewer still had taken the time, or had the imagination to visualize life in a trailer. But most of them maintained that even if they had known beforehand what life was like they still would have had to move there.

Undoubtedly the majority of these families would never have purchased a trailer under normal conditions. In various stages of ownership of their trailers they seem to be animated by a common desire: to sell them to some other family faced with similar circumstances, and to get out of camp themselves.

It is not difficult to understand something of the shock and confusion that a person experiences upon discovering that he and his family are caught in a sort of morass, where the problems are unfamiliar ones, both physical and social. His slowly acquired behavior patterns frequently are not sufficient to carry him safely through this sudden shift in social strata and values. He needs organized help. Thus far, practically none is offered to trailer camp dwellers, either from social agencies or the various agents of government.

MANY MUNICIPALITIES HAVE, OF COURSE, PASSED ORDINANCES regulating trailer camps, and in many places the camps are subject to inspection by the sanitary police. Too often, however, little actual improvement has been effected. The owner has been able to plead successfully that he will be in a more favorable position later; or that the shortage of construction materials prevents his complying with regulations; or that the high cost of material and labor makes it prohibitive for him.

It is not strange that unsavory conditions in these camps continue to flourish when it is remembered that the sanitary police also inspect slums in metropolitan areas; and that unsavory areas continue in all large cities despite an abundance of sanitary codes.

The trailer camp slum gives every indication that it is here to stay. Unfortunately, it is not generally recognized as a slum, either by the public at large or by the constituted authorities. Historical experience tells us that in any large area any structure erected for human habitation, regardless of how temporary the original plans, will continue to be used for habitation until it is torn down or removed.

Trailer camp slums are a very real, if as yet unrecognized, menace to our American way of life. They should be eradicated *now*, even in the face of an acute housing shortage, for the creation of more slums is not the solution to the problem of housing shortage.

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Building Democracies in Africa

The long forward step toward self-government in the Gold Coast and Nigeria; how illiterate citizens mastered the procedures of registration and voting.

JOHN CARR-GREGG

MANY PEOPLE SEEM TO THINK OF AFRICA IN TERMS OF big game hunting, technicolor movies, and primitive tribal communities. They tend to regard it as a continent inhabited by a vast inert population whose proper place is in the anthropologist's text book or in glossy screen romances based on nineteenth century novels; a place where nothing is ever initiated and is therefore of no importance to the modern world. They forget the part Africa plays in producing vital raw materials for the industrial countries of the West and are mostly unaware of its immense natural resources.

There are many reasons why Africa has been called "Tomorrow's Continent." Less than one tenth of one percent of its water power potential has yet been harnessed, less than one percent of its tillable land and forest wealth has been touched. Most of its gigantic mineral resources still remain untapped beneath the sunbaked soil. It is estimated that the continent, if developed, has the space, soil, and other essentials to maintain many millions more than now inhabit it, with a surplus for exports.

Even more important than this abundance of material resources is Africa's human potential. It is the home of some 150,000,000 colored people, many of whom are already beginning to demand a voice in the shaping of their destiny. As in Asia, there is an awakening of the masses from their centuries-old slumber. New leaders are emerging who express the growing desire of subject races to be masters in their own house. In view of what has happened in the Far East, it would be unwise to ignore or minimize these developments. The political aspirations of Africa's millions will one day be a significant factor in the struggle between totalitarianism and democracy.

Perhaps the most hopeful sign in this respect is the great pioneering effort which is being made in British West Africa to build modern states where none existed before. The architects of this unique "nation-building" project are a team of enlightened European civil servants and a creative minority of educated young Africans. Their biggest achievement to date has been in the small British Gold Coast dependency, a country about the size of Idaho on the palm fringed shore of the Bight of Benin. It was here early this year that the first popularly based government on the Dark Continent was elected.

It is true that the Gold Coast is still nominally a colony under British rule where the London appointed governor retains reserve powers of "certification," by which he can give the force of law to a bill rejected by the African dominated Central Assembly, and of veto, by which he can refuse assent to a bill passed by the Assembly. Yet this is a constitutional provision which the British will hesitate to use since it would destroy even the semblance of democratic government and might throw the whole country into chaos. The fact is that the Gold Coast has now advanced as far along the road to self-government as it can go short of actual Dominion status within the British Commonwealth, like India, or complete independence, like Burma. For good or ill, the Africans now have the responsibility of governing.

This is something quite new and revolutionary for Africa south of the Sahara, where the colored population is almost entirely governed and controlled by white men —British, French, Belgian, South African, and Portuguese—and where, apart from the tiny republic of Liberia, there is not even nominal independence. For the first time since the white men came to Africa, the citizens of a colony have begun to take charge of their own affairs. The Gold Coast's new Executive Council—roughly equivalent to a Cabinet—comprises eight African Ministers and only three European officials appointed *ex-officio*. In the Central Assembly only a handful of Europeans have the vote: nine out of a total of eighty-four seats. The African Ministers now have full control over their departments and over the British civil servants who serve under them.

TO UNDERSTAND WHAT HAS HAPPENED IN THE GOLD COAST, it is necessary to go back to the ugly upheaval which took place in 1948, an event officially described as the "Disturbances." Three years ago, fear and violence swept across the dependency; twenty-nine people were killed and 249 injured in a sudden outburst of rioting. The country seemed on the verge of open rebellion.

The orderly and good humored elections which took place in February this year were in striking contrast to the lawlessness of 1948. Yet it was from the postwar dissatisfaction expressed in strikes and riots that the British took the step which has now started the Gold Coast irrevocably on the road which leads to complete autonomy. To discover the basic causes of the "Disturbances," a Commission of Inquiry was set up which recognized "genuine grievances" and recommended drastic constitutional reform with wide African participation in the central government. It proposed that an all-African committee be given responsibility for drawing up the details. The result was the 98-page report of the representative committee presided over by Mr. Justice Coussey, an African judge. Completed in August, 1949, this report was accepted by the British as a working

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—By the news editor of the British Information Services in New York City. Educated at Cambridge, Mr. Carr-Gregg is a former member of the United Nations Secretariat.

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basis for achieving a more democratic government.

The new constitution was proclaimed on New Year's Day, 1951. Translating the Coussey proposals into an administrative set-up which was realistic and workable, it represented a formidable challenge both to the educated African minority and to the British, who had given repeated pledges that the primary goal of their policy was the smooth transference of power to the chiefs and democratically elected African leaders.

TWO IMMEDIATE PROBLEMS FACED THE BRITISH ADMINISTRATION when the new reforms were announced: who would explain to the population the complexities of electoral procedure which was still in various stages of political development, and how could countrywide elections be conducted despite illiteracy and ignorance.

The first of these tasks was tackled well ahead of Election Day. To begin with, one hundred educated Africans were selected for an intensive training course by the government's Public Relations Office. They were carefully briefed by skilled propaganda officials as instructors whose job was to "teach democracy" throughout the dependency. They were to take part in what fairly may be claimed as the biggest political education campaign ever attempted in Africa.

As early as October, 1950, when the Constitution was still in the process of being formulated, the African instructors were organized into fifteen teams—mobile units equipped with trucks, camping gear, movie projectors, literature, and public address amplifiers. The trucks covered 22,214 miles in an extensive tour of remote villages in the interior of the dependency. On arrival at a village, the unit attracted crowds by playing recorded music. Then the leader of the team would explain through his microphone the purpose of their mission. This was necessary to avoid unfortunate misunderstandings: in one place, a team was greeted with a hail of stones because they were thought to be tax-collectors.

The leader of the unit, having established his identity, would next play a special recording which described the election in simple terms, showing how the area was divided into electoral districts and how a resident could register as a voter. Special charts were displayed and the leader then pointed out the composition of the enlarged 84-member Central Assembly, showing how the seats were to be distributed. To drive home the points made in the course of this demonstration, the team would hand out booklets and pamphlets describing the elections in detail.

Although English has become the common language for trade and politics in the Gold Coast, more than twenty-five different languages and dialects are spoken in the dependency. This meant that the African instructors had to speak in the local vernacular during the 1,566 lecture demonstrations given throughout the territory; half a million pamphlets had to be distributed in the eight principal languages. In addition, radio talks in Hausa, Ewe, Ga, Twi, and Fanti were broadcast by the Public Relations Department from special recordings made at Accra, the seat of government. A large section of the Gold Coast press helped to educate the general public during the campaign by devoting some 2,500 inches of their space to material on electoral procedure in editorials and articles; this is equivalent to twelve complete issues of a four-page daily newspaper. The government's weekly *Gold Coast Bulletin* was published in double editions with similar election material.

In the course of their demonstrations, which also included special movie shows in 1,320 towns and villages, the propaganda teams reported good attendances, the average audience being about 300 persons.

The success of the campaign can best be measured by the number of Africans who actually registered as voters. It had been estimated that only about a quarter of a million adults would register in the whole of the country; actually more than 663,000 became eligible to vote, about 47 percent of those qualified by law—British subjects or British-protected persons, not less than 21 years of age who had resided in an electoral district for at least six months and paid their taxes.

The registration period lasted three weeks and during this time more than 700 officials drawn from the senior and junior government staff worked full time on the project, assisted by more than 1,000 part time workers.

When registration was completed, the mass education campaign concentrated on encouraging the people to check the voters registration lists and to challenge any mistakes. For a time there was a shortage of ballot boxes. All over the Gold Coast carpenters were recruited to construct 6,856 mahogany boxes needed in the rural districts alone. Registration officers discovered there were not enough locks and hasps; they improvised by countersinking screws, pouring molten lead in a strip along the line of screws, and wrapping the boxes with steel bands. After the voting, the boxes had to be broken open.

By the beginning of February, 1951, everything was ready for the elections. During its last few weeks, the propaganda campaign stressed that corruption, bribery, personation at the polls, and other election offenses would be severely punished, and explained election regulations in detail. On the day of the elections only one person was arrested for an election offense (personation) throughout the whole of the country.

BECAUSE OF THE BACKWARDNESS OF THE PEOPLE IN THE remote rural areas and the different degrees of political development in various districts, three separate voting systems were employed. The Gold Coast elections were a kind of half-way house to democracy of the Western type: of the 84 seats in the Central Assembly, 37 were filled through the votes of the traditional councils of chiefs. Some of the more important chiefs were allowed one vote for every 10,000 of their peoples. Another 33 seats in the new Assembly were filled through votes of Electoral Colleges representing rural areas; and the seats for the five municipal areas—including Accra with its population of 136,000—by popular vote (secret ballot).

A simple but effective method was adopted to prevent people trying to vote twice. After handing over his marked ballot, the voter's right thumb was inked with an indelible purple-blue stain. As each new voter entered the polling station, his right thumb was examined before he was given a ballot. To assist illiterates, ballots were marked not only with the names of candidates but also with pictures: those ancient Gold Coast symbols, the elephant, the fish, and the cockerel, were adopted by candidates of competing parties so that electors could cast their vote secretly whether they were able to read or not. Illiterates voted by fingerprinting on the ballot.

The result of the election was a clear-cut victory for the well organized Convention People's Party (CPP)

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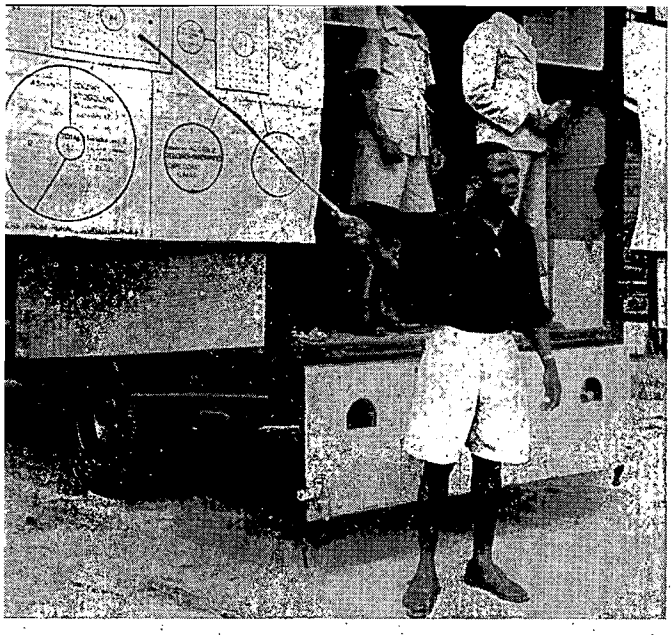
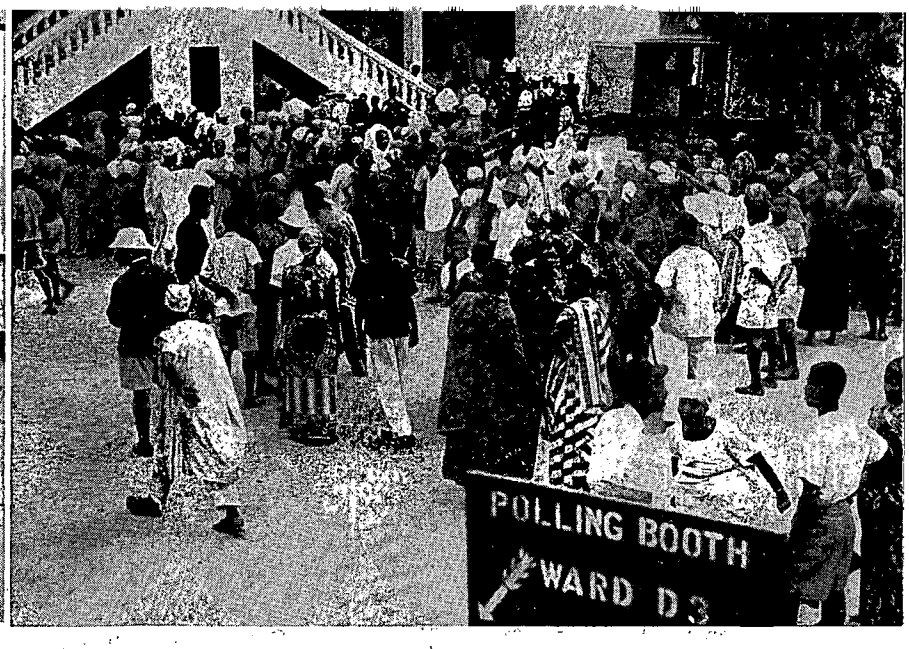


Educating the new voters



Eager crowds line up at the polls

which won all but two of the popular seats. The CPP, which has a strong following among the semi-literate masses of the coast and bigger inland towns, was founded six months before the "Disturbances" of 1948. It is strongly nationalist with the election slogan: "We prefer self-government with danger to servitude in tranquillity." The CPP's leader, 41-year-old Kwame Nkrumah, is now the senior ranking African Minister in the new government. His position, "Leader for Government Business," is roughly equivalent to that of Prime Minister and he also holds the portfolio of Minister of Communications and Works.

BORN THE SON OF A GOLDSMITH IN A SMALL VILLAGE ON September 21, 1909, Kwame Nkrumah has emerged as a personality whose influence may one day be as powerful in Africa as that of Jawaharlal Nehru in modern Asia. After studying at various mission schools in the Gold Coast, he went to Achimota College, near Accra, with the intention of becoming a school teacher. Shortly after leaving college he departed for England and, in 1936, sailed to the U.S. He stayed ten years, working his way in two universities American fashion by serving as a seaman during vacations. He took a string of degrees (Lincoln, B.A., '39; B.D., '42; University of Pennsylvania M.Sc., '43) before returning to England in 1945.

In the liberal atmosphere of postwar London, Nkrumah soon forsook his studies and plunged into a life of politics, playing an active part in West African nationalist organizations. In swift succession he became an executive member of the West African Students' Union; an organizing member of the Pan-African Conference (1945); a representative of the National African Bureau; General Secretary of the West African Secretariat; and a delegate to the Conference of West Africans in Britain (1946). By this time, his reputation as a leader and organizer had spread to the Gold Coast. Dr. J. Danquah, leader of the nationalist United Gold Coast Convention, offered him a post in July, 1947, as General Secretary of the UGCC. He accepted and returned to Africa, landing at Takoradi in December the same year.

Nkrumah, a lively and compelling public speaker who knows how to sway an African audience, soon established a strong personal ascendency among the people of the Gold Coast where he addressed meetings in va parts of the dependency. In the summer of 1949, a occurred in the UGCC and he broke away to for party of his own, the CPP. It had a big appeal to yo Africans and rapidly eclipsed the middle class UC But Nkrumah's activities and his cry of "Seek ye the Kingdom of Self-Government and all things be added to you" brought him into conflict with British administration. In 1948, he was banished to Northern Territories, following the February " turbances" in which the UGCC was alleged to been involved. Later, in 1949, the CPP denounced constitution recommended by the Coussey Comm and declared its intention of winning power by a " tive Action" campaign of strikes, boycotts and no operation. Nkrumah was warned by the government these methods were illegal and early in 1950 he wa prisoned on a charge of sedition and fomentin illegal general strike.

Thus, during the elections, Kwame Nkrumah was guishing in Accra's James Fort prison, weaving fis nets and reading history and philosophy. In his abs the CPP was brilliantly directed by 38-year-old K Agbeli Gbedemah, former science schoolteacher, jou ist, and food contractor to the U. S. Army; who assisted by Oxford-educated Kojo Botsio, age 35, o the keenest minds in the party. After the CPP's triu at the polls, the governor released Nkrumah, wit other members of his party "as an act of grace o eve of the inauguration of the new constitution." statement to the press after his release, Nkrumah "I want to make it absolutely clear that I am a f of Britain . . . and come out of jail and into the Asse without the slightest feeling of bitterness to Britain

Two weeks later, the governor, Sir Charles Arden-Clarke, who was switched in the summ 1949 from the stormy territory of Sarawak to the more politically tense Gold Coast, told the new Asse that six of the eight African Ministers in the Ca would be CPP men, thus giving the party a majority in the 11-member Executive Council. Botsio became the Minister of Education, and Gbed Minister of Health and Labor. The two remaining can portfolios were given to representatives from A (the central area of the Gold Coast, rich in timber

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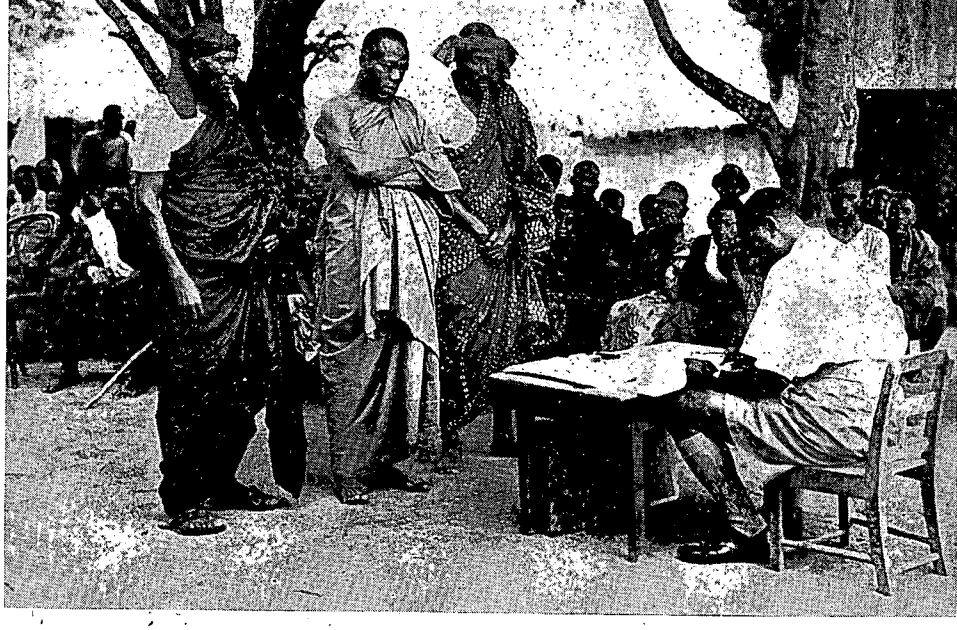

A citizen exercises his responsibility as a voter

Central Office of Information (Gold Coast)

Congratulating the successful candidate

ı the Northern Territories (the hilly, underdevelop-egion), both districts where the CPP is weak.
ıly time will tell if this apparently successful experi-t in building a democratic state in Africa will suc-. The governor has already made it clear that he in-s to use his reserve powers with wisdom and dis-on; addressing the first session of the new Assembly nnounced: "I shall not speak to you again, except formal occasion, once a year at the budget meet-in the terms which Ministers advise." This state-t suggests a procedure rather similar to the King's ch in the British Parliament, which is actually writ-by the government in power at the time. It is cer-y a radical break with the old-fashioned colonial ıtion of government by British civil servants and a hand-picked African "moderates."

espite the party's ardent nationalism, the CPP is ently acting as a stabilizing force in the Gold Coast. African Ministers—six of them educated in Britain e men of proven ability and include three former hers, three lawyers, and a journalist. The two non-' Ministers both served on the Coussey Committee helped frame the constitution. What the African ers lack in administrative experience is compensated n intimate knowledge of their own people. Although cmist elements might cause a split within the CPP, esent Kwame Nkrumah and his colleagues enjoy im-se political backing throughout the country.

NOTHER HOPEFUL SIGN IS THE ATMOSPHERE OF MUTUAL which seems to exist between the African and African members of the new administration. The ' leaders are shrewd and agreeable personalities, deter-ed to carry out their program yet willing to benefit ı the advice of their European under-secretaries former directors of departments) and to cooperate the governor and three British Ministers in the tical implementation of policy. For the time being, have a community of interest with their former ıial masters in tackling the immediate problems h face them, such as local government reform, eco-ic development, and universal primary education. ıis is a formidable program, particularly the edu-ınal drive for free schooling in a country with a population of 3,735,682 where illiteracy outside the towns is almost 90 percent. The limiting factor is not finance (the Gold Coast, source of half the world's cocoa supply, is the wealthiest British dependency in Africa and large sums reach the treasury from import and export duties) but a shortage of teachers and equipment. In addition to the primary school program, the CPP is intensifying the campaign for adult education and has begun a project for building "Ghana schools" through voluntary subscription. Nkrumah has stated that his party wants to change the name of the Gold Coast to "Ghana," its name in the eleventh century, "when we had emperors, large cities, and a high level of culture."

Although the Gold Coast has made the most impressive advance towards statehood in Africa, it is not an isolated example of the progress which is being made in "Tomorrow's Continent." This summer, Nigeria (population more than 24,000,000) held its first countrywide elections under a new quasi-federal constitution which accords the Africans a wide measure of self-government. Under British guidance, the dependent people of yet another territory—this time the largest (338,593 square miles) and most populous in British-administered Africa—tackled the difficult problem of achieving responsible representative government.

In the words of the late Ernest Bevin at the 1950 Labor Party Conference, Britain's aim is to lead Africa "on the road along which India has gone . . . the road to freedom." Success in this great effort to add new nations to the political world depends on the European civil servants, who must both teach and obey the new Ministers, and on the African leaders. It was a Nigerian, 51-year-old Alvan Ikoku, who summed up the qualities his people will need in the years ahead. In a speech to the Nigerian Assembly, he said:

"The road to autonomy will be hard . . . will certainly require all our qualities of head and heart . . . real hard work, not words; truth, not falsehood; consistency, not political opportunism; tolerance, not a dictatorial attitude hidden in a cloak of false modesty. We need . . . a deep and abiding philosophy of state, not shallow pet phrases calculated to win the cheap applause of innocent audiences; self-surrender to the highest ideals of service, not a self-imposed martyrdom. Above all, love all the way, not hate."

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How Clean Is That Coffee Cup?

How Oregon's state sanitarians discovered that a smile is better than a frown in helping restaurant owners live up to the state sanitary code.

PETER FABRIZIUS

"If you sneeze in an Oregon restaurant," said the waitress, "nobody may bother to say *'gesundheit,'* but the state Board of Health will show up to count the germs."

She was kidding, not griping. The Board of Health, which is paid by the taxpayers of Oregon to enforce a rather strict sanitation code, is surprisingly popular with the people on whose toes it is paid to step.

I came across the Board's activity while having a quick sandwich in the little town of Gold Beach in southern Oregon. A man came into the diner, waved to the owner, and helped himself to a glass from the shelf. He took some cotton from a metal case, swabbed the lip of the glass, and put the cotton back in the bag. He did the same with some cups and spoons, then went over to the owner and had a long talk with him.

When I paid my bill I asked the cashier: "What did that man do with the spoons and glasses?"

"He took a swab rinse," the girl answered. When she saw my uncomprehending look, she explained: "He's a sanitarian from the Board of Health, counting germs."

"Has there been an epidemic?" I asked.

She laughed. "Oh, no. He comes around every couple of months."

Here was something I might have overlooked on a guided tour, and I decided to investigate.

The restaurant owner looked as rugged as his pioneering grandfather probably did when he chopped down the huge Douglas firs to make the place habitable and built himself a house with his own hands. I expected to hear some strong words about government interference with business.

But the man was placid. "The sanitarian?" he asked. "Oh, Bill Bower. He's all right. Helps me keep my place in shape. Last time I had a count of 76. If you are under 100 you're okay. Two years ago I had 5,000. Five thousand germs on one cup!"

He pointed to a sink where the dishes were piled in three compartments. In the first was soap and water; in the second clear water; in the third a chemical.

"They made us all build sinks like this," he explained. "It was in '45; I had just opened my place and had no money to waste. First I was mad. I almost threw Bill out when he told me. 'Look,' Bill said. 'I'll show you something.' He took a dish that'd just been washed, and put some gooey stuff in it. 'Food for germs,' he said. 'I'll show you how they could grow on this dish that you call clean.' Then he brought a dish from the place across the street where they had a new sink. Doing the same thing he then put both dishes next to each other in my kitchen. Two days later he came again. My dish was full of spots; the other one was clean. 'There are thousands of germs in each spot in this dish,' he said 'Would you like your kid to eat from it? Well, other folks don't want their kids to eat from it either.'"

On my trips through Oregon I found that all sanitarians worked that way. They had their own system of getting things done, by showing, helping, and ego bolstering.

"I always thought I was a bum," a dishwasher told me, "until I went to one of those meetings where they told us that a good dishwasher is a skilled worker."

Waitresses had become impressed by the fact that 65,000,000 people eat away from home in the United States, and that it was their responsibility to help preserve their customers' health by keeping thumbs off plates, wearing their hair in nets, and frequently washing their hands.

Restaurant owners had discovered the advantage of colorful green and yellow certificate-of-grade decals which were stuck against their glass doors informing customers that the place, duly inspected, complies with sanitation standards for grade A under the provisions of the Oregon sanitation code. Similar decals classifying the place as B or C also have a psychological effect on the owner. With a C classification, however, the Board of Health takes off its glove of persuasion and threatens to withdraw the license if the place is not up to A or B standards within thirty days.

The Board of Health makes a special effort to pick sanitarians who will carry out the program in the spirit in which it was conceived. First attention focuses on the personality of the prospective employe, with his practical experience running a close second. He must be able to get along with people, be persuasive, understanding, helpful. "We cannot change the personality of a man," is the guiding philosophy of those responsible for the hiring, "but we always can train him in job technicalities."

Sanitarians are recruited from the dozen or so colleges that give undergraduate degrees in sanitation, mostly from the universities of California, Denver, Minnesota, and North Carolina. A special training appropriation enables the employes to pursue additional studies while working for the Board of Health. They go to one of the campuses of the University of California, often to get a Master's degree in Public Health.

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—"Peter Fabrizius" is the joint pen-name of Joseph B. Fabry and Maxwell E. Knight, University of California editors, one in Agricultural Publications, the other at the University Press.

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In addition most of the sanitarians attend a one-week short course sponsored by the Board once a year where top men are on hand to bring them up to date on latest developments and to answer questions. Last year, the speakers included a member of an engineering firm that specializes in water treatment and sewage disposal to talk about water purification; a man who had made an extensive study of shellfish and oyster sanitation; and a professor of public relations from the Oregon State College, who teaches the art of getting along with people.

Newly hired sanitarians get a chance to become thoroughly familiar with the special problems they are likely to meet before actually starting in on their jobs. They spend several weeks accompanying established sanitarians on their daily rounds, observing, and familiarizing themselves with their duties.

Board officials treat sanitarians as individuals rather than just so many employes. This they consider the most important factor in the success of the program. Another is the restaurant code which covers the entire state with uniform minimum requirements. In many other states the cleanliness of utensils, refrigeration, standards of safety for food, are regulated by local authorities. When there are not statewide standards, confusion often results, as in the case of a restaurant owner who moves from a town with low sanitation standards to another where authorities are more sanitation conscious. Not trained in thinking along health lines, he will resent the stricter regulations and may try to obstruct them, muttering, "In all my years in the restaurant business I never had to put up with all *that* fuss."

The practice of adopting statewide sanitary standards has been increasing in recent years, until now 21 states have some sort of statewide restaurant supervision. Besides Oregon they include Arizona, Arkansas, Colorado, California, Connecticut, Delaware, Idaho, Illinois, Kentucky, Louisiana, Missouri, Nevada, North Carolina, Oklahoma, Pennsylvania, South Carolina, Rhode Island, Vermont, Virginia, and Wyoming. However, their laws vary in scope and methods of enforcement and thus in effectiveness. In Oregon, the unique feature is the stress put on a sincere attempt to befriend the restaurant owners and help them overcome their difficulties.

It was not always thus. Oregon's restaurant inspection law was passed by the state legislature in 1945. Then sanitarians, gun in belt (figuratively for most, but in a few instances literally) went out to force health down the throat of restaurant owners and food handlers. It didn't work. Grade-labeling signs disappeared as by magic. Resistance against government inspection was uniform. If improvements were made they were at a minimum, with only the cheapest materials used.

After a year, the Board of Health officials met. "I don't know whether we're making it safer to eat in restaurants," Verne Reierson, senior sanitarian, told the members. "We certainly aren't making it safer to be a sanitarian. To be a health officer in Oregon is rapidly becoming the most unhealthy job in the state. It's just a matter of time before someone will throw dishes at us, germs and all."

"We have a law on our hands, and have to make it stick," another member of the Board replied.

But Reierson convinced his colleagues that they should explain the law to the food handlers, instead of bludgeoning them with it. So sanitarians changed their tactics. They left their guns at home, and went out to tell restaurant owners: "You pay taxes to get service from us. What can we do for you?"

As it turned out, they found plenty to do. When the manager of a cafeteria complained that he could not get rid of kitchen odors, sanitarian Len Gassner took off his coat and helped move furniture, throwing out unnecessary pieces, to make room for more ventilation. When a restaurant owner who was cramped for space wanted to know how to stack his glasses, sanitarian Bill Culham went hunting for information on racks. Following up this idea, the Oregon Board of Health today possesses what is probably one of the most complete files of information on restaurant equipment. If the proprietor of a lunch counter needs a new meat cutter, all he has to do is tell his sanitarian, and he will learn everything about at least twenty-five meat cutters manufactured anywhere between Boston and Los Angeles. Sanitarians clip ads from papers, write to manufacturers for brochures, drawings, facts and figures, and store them in the files of their Portland office. Restaurant owners now know that sanitarians will give them the pros and cons of any equipment they want to buy, considering their special needs. They know that health officials, while not endorsing any merchandise, will protect them from inferior products.

Photo by Graphic Arts. Oregon State Board of Health

"Five thousand germs on one cup!"

Sanitarians turn chemists when dishwashers are worried about the effect of a new cleanser on their hands or health, and get laboratory tests for them. They turn mathematicians explaining that the installation of expensive equipment can save money: if you buy a sink

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of galvanized material it will cost half as much as one made of stainless steel; but if you use chemicals in your dishwashing, stainless steel will last about five times as long. And sanitarians turn psychologists explaining that one sick customer who can trace his spoiled stomach to your dinner, means a lost customer—and probably more than one as he is sure to tell his friends.

But above all, sanitarians turned public relations specialists and educators. Realizing that the best equipment was no better than the operator behind it, they focused their attention on the human side of sanitation. They did not expect people to read the law, so they made illustrations of its main points and spread them, comic-strip fashion, over kitchen walls.

MOST IMPORTANT, THEY STARTED CLASSES FOR FOOD handlers. These courses usually involve two hour-and-a-half sessions in every city, and consist of short talks supplemented by films. At first these voluntary schools were not well attended. But after the Board of Health sent out short news releases to local papers, listing the restaurants which had sent their personnel, other restaurants did not wish to miss this free publicity. Attendance of these classes has jumped from less than 3,000 in 1946 to more than 11,000.

Of course, getting people into a classroom is not enough. They have to be kept interested. Demonstrations do the trick. For example, the sanitarian, with three covered glass dishes containing a broth medium, asks a girl to volunteer one of her freshly washed hairs. He places it in one of the dishes. He asks another volunteer to cough into a second dish, and a third to leave a fingerprint. The dishes are then stowed away, together with a fourth which is kept clean. Presto—in due time, the dishes with the freshly washed hair, the cough, and the fingerprint are spotted with germs while the fourth dish is still clean. And the sanitarians lose no time in driving home the point that germs are so small that 8,000,000 of them will find room on a pinhead.

"This little demonstration," one Board of Health official pointed out, making the understatement of the season, "is more likely to get attention than point 2, item 16 of Chapter 432 Oregon laws 1945 which states on page 25 of the Sanitary Code, 'This item (cleanliness of employes) shall be deemed to have been satisfied if the hands of all persons are kept clean while engaged in handling food, drink, utensils, or equipment.'"

The Board of Health is directly responsible for the restaurants in eleven counties, each with a population of less than 10,000. Four state sanitarians keep on the road to cover that widespread territory. More populated counties have their own health officers who can and do get assistance from the state Board if they want it. There are some fifty sanitarians in the various county and city health departments, twenty-four of them in Portland. At present, about 5,500 eating establishments are in existence throughout Oregon, an increase of 800 since 1947.

In spite of an annual struggle to get enough appropriations from the legislature, the Board of Health has been able to streamline its restaurant sanitation program. It introduced a mobile laboratory, carrying sink, distiller, incubator, refrigerator, microscopes, and other laboratory equipment in a truck that constantly tours the state. The truck parks at a convenient location, and the sanitarians swarm over the neighborhood bringing in swab samples from freshly washed cups, glasses, and spoons. The results of these tests are kept secret from everyone except the owners and employes of the restaurants concerned. If the germ count is low, the sanitarian does not fail to apply a pat. If it is high, there is no finger shaking.

"John," he will say, "we had bad luck this time. Something must be haywire somewhere in your outfit. Let's see if we can pin it down."

Restaurant owners have come to accept sanitarians as their friends whose advice and help they seek when needed. If the sanitarian knows the answer he gives it himself, otherwise he brings in reinforcements—architects, doctors, lawyers, chemists, and various other kinds of experts from the universities or public agencies.

Today, the sanitarian is as welcome at a restaurant in Oregon as the corner cop who can be relied on to keep away trouble. Although sanitarians cover a lot of territory, they find time to chat with everyone who handles food, from busboy to owner. You can't prove it in cold figures, but managers of eating places claim that turnover in personnel has fallen off since the sanitation program was started.

"These boys make even the dishwashers feel important," one cafeteria owner explained, "and come to think of it, they are. Fact is, fewer kitchen helpers in Oregon are drifting from one restaurant to another."

The work of the Board of Health has more tangible results, of course. The diphtheria and typhoid rates, both typical "restaurant diseases" are at an all-time low, and while other preventive measures are involved the restaurant program must be given some credit. Since the program started, grade A establishments have increased from 17 percent to over 53 percent while the unacceptable grade C has been given only to 1.6 percent of all inspected places. The four state sanitarians last year traveled about 50,000 miles to inspect, advise, assist, hold meetings, and inform in general on matters of health. No one knows how many thousand miles the county sanitarians traveled. While they grade and license only public eating places, sanitarians also find time to serve schools, hospitals, and other public institutions where food is handled.

THE MAIN JOB, AS STATE HEALTH OFFICER DR. HAROLD M. Erickson sees it, is to make the public "sanitation-conscious." As a success story, he points to Lane County, where the people themselves, without appropriation from the legislature, voted to spend $100,000 to improve their garbage disposal system. Backed by newspaper campaigns, and discussed heavily in dozens of meetings, they voted the money to buy land where bulldozers now bury garbage in 8 foot deep trenches.

Restaurant patrons, too, are becoming more sanitation-conscious in Oregon, Dr. Erickson reports. They look for grade signs and are reluctant to walk into eating places that do not display them. If they get a lipstick-smeared glass they are more prone to return it and ask for a clean one. They are also more insistent on safe food, and are apt to check milk bottle labels for pasteurization. Restaurant owners are more aware of the chances taken in buying uninspected meat which might be a few cents cheaper. And waitresses have come to realize that golden blonde hair may be the key to a customer's heart, but certainly not to his stomach.

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Legal Aid at Work in England

A new service recently inaugurated by the British government helps implement one of the great guarantees of Magna Charta.

JAMES AVERY JOYCE

THAT SOCIETY IS ROTTEN WHERE ONE CITIZEN AS AGAINST another can overpower him or undermine him by law wielded with an uneven hand. Only the blind, cruel, or unjust in heart, can wink an eye at this unnameable curse." With these forthright words Lord Shaw addressed the American Bar Association in 1922. It is the purpose of this article to show how, in England, this "unnameable curse" has been at long last dealt with in a society which claims to have brought democracy into its social life, having once established it in its political system.

In October 1950, a comprehensive Legal Aid Service was inaugurated in England which, in stages, will render the English Courts open to all, irrespective of wealth or income. This new Service was planned by a Royal Commission on Legal Aid which had presented its report to Parliament in May 1945. The date is significant, for it reveals that, throughout the hard years of war, peace was being blueprinted and prepared in England. As with a good deal—but not all—of recent social legislation, the Labor Government, which took office in 1945, has put into effect the agreed findings and recommendations of expert commissions and other impartial bodies set up under the coalition of the War period. Thus has been assured a reasonably broad and nonpolitical basis for legislation affecting all sections of the community.

It is not generally recognized in the United States, perhaps, that the bulk of the National Health Service proposals had gone through just this process of mutual concession and adjustment, long before receiving Parliamentary sanction. Far less controversy, fortunately, has attended the birth of the Legal Aid Service. The Commission, presided over by Lord Rushcliffe, was composed of distinguished public men and women, drawn not only from the legal profession, but from both Houses of Parliament and from the voluntary social service and education agencies. Having interviewed a considerable number of individual witnesses and examined memoranda submitted by many organizations, the Commission report, in 1945, was unanimous. It is not surprising, therefore, that this long-awaited reform is one of the least criticized of any the Labor Government has produced in its crowded term of office. Probably for that same reason, outside England at least, few people know anything about it.

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—By an English barrister and educator who has been a guest lecturer at several American universities. His earlier Survey *article, "Liberty or Fear: the Final Choice," (January 1951) was widely quoted.*

How does this new Service affect the ordinary citizen and what can the United States gain, if anything, from the English experience? Before answering these questions, it would be as well to look back a little. The principle of free legal aid has formed part of the Common Law from time immemorial. "To no man will we deny, to no man will we sell, or delay, justice or right," proclaimed the redoubtable Magna Charta. But the gap between precept and practice has always been a big one.

IN THE NINETEENTH CENTURY, A GREAT VARIETY OF VOLUNtary social service groups arose to mitigate, in some degree, the appalling results of the English industrial revolution, which left its ravages behind it in the slums and broken lives of the unlucky workers. Toward the end of that century, Toynbee Hall, for example, was established (in 1893) in the East End of London, as the center of a Poor Man's Lawyer Service, which has since spread to other towns and districts. Hull-House in Chicago owed its origin to this social workers' experiment at Toynbee Hall. It may not be so well known that Clement Attlee, both as a barrister and a Member of Parliament, spent most of his working life before becoming a Minister of the Crown, as a deeply respected social worker in the East End of London, and was formerly secretary of Toynbee Hall. It is from such inspiration and practical experience of the working conditions of ordinary people that so much of England's social legislation during the last half century has come. And the present writer, having observed at first hand the important work being done at both Toynbee Hall and Hull-House, cannot praise too highly the fine spirit of voluntary and sacrificial service which still pervades these twin pioneer centers, one on each side of the Atlantic.

In addition to what were, in the main, free legal advice centers, such as these, staffed by a roster of lawyers without remuneration of any kind, a Poor Persons Procedure (as English lawyers call it) was set up in 1914. Under this procedure, lawyers gave their time without payment to undertake "Poor Persons" cases in the High Court. But, indispensable as this form of social service has proved to large numbers of wretched applicants—especially to that ever-increasing stream of poor petitioners seeking divorce—it suffered from two serious defects. First, it was available only to those whose income did not exceed £3 or, in special circumstances, £4 a week, and who had not more than £50 in property.

These limits, as time went on, were far too low; but this prevailed up to October 1950. Second, the procedure was limited to actions in the Superior Courts. This left

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without assistance the much more numerous petty causes which go through the County Courts and other inferior courts.

For instance, every practitioner who has acted as a Poor Man's Lawyer has had experience of scores of pathetic cases where a marriage has broken down, in fact, but where the would-be petitioner—it might be (shall we say?) a clerk earning a wage of £8 a week, whose deserting wife left him with three children to support—has had no accumulated capital for divorce suit. It is possible, in a case like this, that the wife is already living with another man, by whom she has had further children, and the husband has found meanwhile another woman who is willing to marry him and look after his children. But, even a "straightforward" divorce suit costs at least £70 in England, and that is an impossible sum for such a man to find. So four parties are forced to live frustrated and unsatisfactory lives and all the children suffer, because a relatively small lump sum is not available.

As regards the criminal courts, two further facilities might be mentioned in passing; but, again it is only the very poor who can be said to benefit. There has long existed the curious custom of the "dock brief," which means that, at the trial judge's discretion, an accused person of little or no means when arraigned before an Assize or Quarter Sessions Court, can choose on the spot any barrister present in court by undertaking to produce the nominal sum of one guinea (one pound plus one shilling). This sum is usually forthcoming from some source, and judges themselves have been known to assist the man in the dock if all else fails.

In the Police Courts, where the examining magistrate in a serious case so decides, he may grant a legal aid certificate, so that the accused may have his case properly prepared for trial before the Superior Court. But, in practice, such state-aided defenses—that is, where the court allocates solicitors or counsel—have been surprisingly few.

Outside the courts themselves, the development since 1939 of Citizens' Advice Bureaus, or inquiry offices, which performed such important services to the general public during World War II, have more than justified their existence, although only recently have they received public financial grants. In ten years, over a thousand such Bureaus have been established throughout the country, largely under the stimulus of the National Council of Social Service. Mainly staffed by volunteer workers, they have already dealt with well over 10,000,000 inquiries on a vast range of questions troubling ordinary people, who cannot afford to go to a lawyer professionally.

TAKING A SAMPLE MORNING'S WORK IN A CENTRAL LONDON Citizens' Advice Bureau, here are some typical interviews dealt with by the legal adviser who attends during specified hours:

A woman applicant says she has been given a fortnight's notice to quit an apartment which she has been occupying for some years as a sub-tenant of a friend, who is now abroad and cannot be reached. Must she obey the notice? Can she get an extension of the notice until her friend's legal rights are ascertained? Can she apply to a Rent Tribunal for "protection?" Or can she take the matter to be determined by the County Court? And so forth.

A young man, now the sole support of his mother, has just lost his father by death and wants to know what steps he could take to wind up the affairs of his father, who left no will, what gratuities or insurance monies are due to the widow, and how he should set about collecting them.

A man who is not a member of any trade union, has had his leg seriously injured while working in a small foundry where, he says, his employers—in spite of his protests—insisted on using some faulty tackle for lifting heavy weights. Can he start a High Court action against them for damages or compensation?

In each case, a bewildered and unhappy individual enters the Bureau with an urgent problem with which only a lawyer can deal, but with no ready money to enable the matter to be taken up by a lawyer in ordinary practice. In each case, the individual has, at least, his mind set at rest and his rights explained. In some cases, he can gain the help of the procedure already mentioned. But let us note this: If, before October 2, 1950, any of these applicants admitted that his or her weekly earnings were over £3 a week (a very low figure indeed) or £4 a week if he were married, or if he had over £50 of property, the only response of the volunteer legal adviser would be: "Very sorry, friend, you are not a 'poor person,' as defined by the Rules of Court which bind us; so you must either find enough money to persuade a lawyer to take up your case professionally, or—you must lump it."

AS YET, THE NEW LEGAL AID SERVICE WILL NOT CURTAIL any of this volunteer activity, as the provisions for the setting up of Legal Advice centers will not become operative for some time. But, on the other hand, the Citizens' Advice Bureaus now have a great deal more to offer the aggrieved applicant who comes for the kind of legal assistance which only the Superior Courts can handle. Let us examine the machinery of the new Act.

It is first necessary to emphasize that it does not provide a state-controlled service, that is to say, a bureaucratic system organized under one of the government departments. In fact, in Britain, there is no "Department of Justice," in the American sense. Many reformers, from the days of Bentham onward, have been pressing, but without success, for the establishment of such a department, to coordinate the different agencies which, from time immemorial, have shared the functions of national justice between them. None of these governmental agencies is charged with the responsibility of organizing the new Service, nor is it under the jurisdiction of the local authorities; although, in accordance with normal British practice and love of self-government, the new Service is widely decentralized. How is this done?

Based on the experience of the previous voluntary system, the control of the new Service has been delegated completely to the legal profession. For this purpose the country has been divided into twelve areas, each under an Area Committee, and over a hundred local committees, to whom applications for legal assistance must be addressed. The Law Society—which is the statutory governing body and professional association of the solicitors—has, naturally, most of the technical administration to handle; although the Bar Council, a more informal body, is cooperating directly by appointing members of the Bar on all the units of organization.

In passing, it is necessary to explain that, in England,

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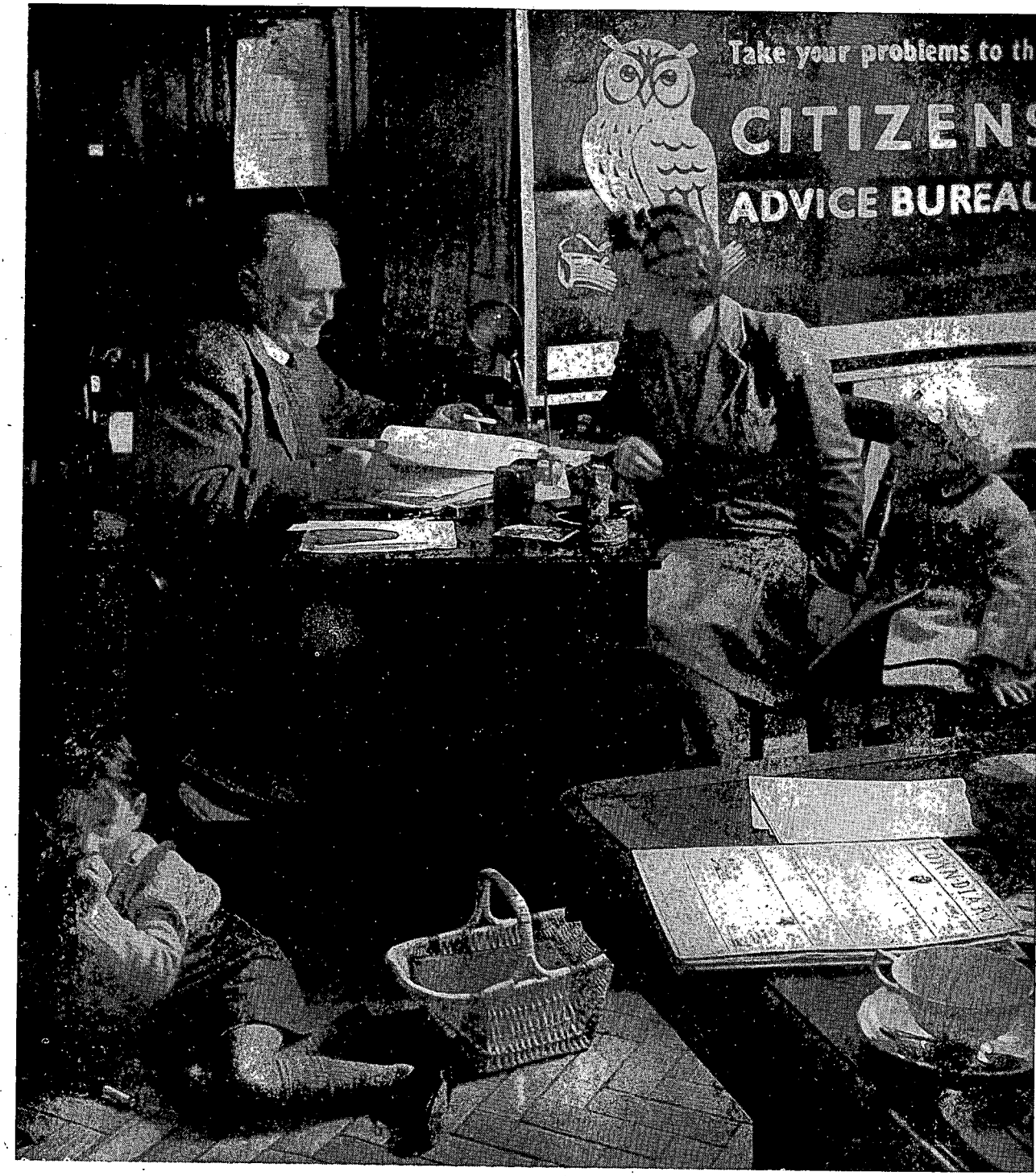

Photo: John Gay, London

A housewife in Surrey seeks help with a troublesome problem at the local Citizens Advice Bureau

the legal profession keeps its two branches—barristers and solicitors—rigidly apart. The former specialize in particular branches of the law in "chambers" and act as advocates in the Superior Courts; the latter work in offices in direct contact with lay clients, preparing briefs and other documents for the barristers, though they also appear in person to represent their clients in the inferior Courts.

It is difficult, at this early stage, to say exactly how much the Service will cost the British Treasury annually, as estimates have varied between £500,000 to £1,000,000. One reason for this vagueness is that it is not possible to guess how many cases will be won by assisted persons; for such victories will generally involve the payment of costs by the losing party, and these sums will accrue to the national fund. Likewise, the total contributions to be made by the assisted persons themselves (as described below) cannot be assessed in advance.

What sort of cases are being dealt with? The answer is, of course, every sort of case—though it must be mentioned that one or two exceptional actions, such as defamation, are excluded from the new Service. Naturally, there had to be a careful control over a national scheme which might be liable to occasional abuse. Fictitious or unjustifiable litigation is checked at its source; and legal hypochondriacs are sternly discouraged. But here are two examples (subject to a necessary modification of details so

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as to preserve anonymity) which illustrate the range and value of the new Service:

1. A Negro girl student from the West Indies arrived in Liverpool, and became acquainted with a colored man, who persuaded her to enter into a business partnership with him, and to "invest" about £300—the sole capital she had available for her studies—in a local café, which, he said, he was on the point of buying from a friend. She signed various papers and was handed a number of receipts for purchase of furniture, crockery, and supplies—all in the man's name. Then, after months of evasive promises, she visited "her" café, and learned that the man was merely an employe there and had been sacked for getting into trouble with bookmakers. Her application was "passed" by the local committee, solicitor and counsel allotted, and the case prepared for the High Court. But, before the suit came on, the defendant made an offer to refund a substantial amount of the sum given him and, in the circumstances brought to light by thorough professional investigation, the plaintiff agreed to a settlement out of court and recovered a fair proportion of her money.

2. A cabinet-maker's skilled assistant lost the fingers of his right hand because of unguarded machinery at his job. The case did not, unfortunately, come within the provisions of the Factory Acts, for various reasons, and the only means of getting adequate damages—for by losing his hand, he has lost his livelihood—is by a relatively expensive Common Law action in the High Court and, possibly, the Appeal Court. The case, thanks to the Act, now goes forward as if the man had private means or a strong trade union to back him.

It is to be noted that the significant change which the Act has brought about is that applicants are no longer classified as "poor" persons, but as "assisted" persons. The taint of "charity"—increasingly repulsive to the English mind in the twentieth century—has thus been removed from yet another section of social life, and the community as a whole takes over the main responsibility for the rights of its minorities—especially the minorities of one.

What are, then, the conditions for obtaining this kind of legal aid, which began to operate in October 1950? To put the matter shortly: any person who can, to the satisfaction of the local Committee (or, on appeal, to the Area Committee), show that he has reasonable grounds for bringing or defending a suit has a right to legal assistance to pursue the suit exactly as if he had full personal means to do so. His application falls into one of two categories: 1. Legal assistance is entirely free if the applicant's net income is less than £3 a week and his net capital is under £75. 2. Legal assistance is granted if the applicant's net income or capital is more than the foregoing amount, provided he pays a contribution toward his legal costs, assessed by the local Committee on a sliding scale, which comes to not more than half of his net income in excess of £3 and there are similar concessions with regard to net capital. An upper limit is fixed, however, for those seeking assistance, of (approximately) £8 per week and £500 of capital. Above these amounts, legal aid will not normally be allowed. But it must be stated at once that "net" income and capital exclude big items such as rent, taxes, and other basic and recurring sums which, in the view of the Committee, cannot fairly be counted as fluid income or capital, from which law costs could reasonably be paid. So the maximum limits stipulated are much more generous than at first appears—bearing in mind, of course, how difficult it is to get anything like a fair comparison between English and American real money values, which bear little relation to the formal translation of pounds into dollars at the prevailing rate of exchange.

FINALLY, IT MUST AGAIN BE EMPHASIZED THAT THIS SHORT description of the machinery of the Act refers only to litigation as such. It is regrettable that the economic and financial pressures under which the British government has been constricted since the Act was passed in 1949—summed up in that chilling term "rearmament"—have compelled the postponement, for the time being, of certain valuable sections of the total Service as originally planned. There will not be brought into operation just yet the proposed Legal Advice centers, under local government supervision, throughout the country. Meantime, the voluntary system of Citizens' Advice Bureaus and Poor Man's Lawyer services, which the new Act was intended largely to replace, will be kept in being. As one volunteer social worker expressed it to the writer recently: "It is all wrong: we've got to put this legal aid work on a business footing before long; but, now we're preparing for the next war, we've no money or energy left to make a decent peace while we've got it!" And that sums up the dilemma of Britain today.

Requiem . . . . . *Hannah Kahn*

No one heard the sparrow,
No one saw it fall,
But I saw its shadow
On the grey stone wall.

And I wept for the sparrow,
And wept for me,
And all the little sparrows
Huddled in the tree.

No one heard the sparrow
Whose song was swift and brief
Fall softly like the murmur
Of a wind-tossed leaf.

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World Assembly of Youth

ARNULF M. PINS

A NEW TYPE OF TECHNICAL ASSISTANCE program to meet the needs of young people in the underdeveloped areas of the world, was projected by 550 youth leaders from 65 countries meeting at Cornell University, Ithaca, New York, during August. It was but one of many resolutions and projects adopted by the World Assembly of Youth which held its first triennial General Assembly in this country around the theme of "Youth and Human Rights."

WAY will establish a demonstration youth center and leadership training institute in one or more underdeveloped areas. Young technicians will work in the areas of "handicraft, citizen participation, personal health, nutrition, and modern methods of agriculture."

The WAY plan differs from the present technical assistance programs of the United Nations and the United States by extending their principle to the areas of youth leadership training and citizenship education. The projects, which will be conducted under voluntary auspices, will make it possible for more young people to go to Asia and Africa to help develop educational and recreational programs for young people.

Founded in 1948 in London, the World Assembly of Youth is an organization through which young people can work together internationally on common interests. Any country which has a national coordinating youth council can apply for membership, but no individual national organization is eligible.

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—Mr. Pins, who recently served as Youth Participation Chairman of the Midcentury White House Conference on Children and Youth, was chairman of the National Social Welfare Assembly's Young Adult Council in 1950. He is currently a student at the New York School of Social Work.

The purposes of WAY are:

To promote international understanding by providing an opportunity for young people to meet and to consider common problems and to evolve solutions; to learn international cooperation through actual experience.

To extend, strengthen, and enrich youth work and youth movements throughout the world through programs of exchange of personnel, information, publications, and experience.

To give young people an opportunity to be heard and to participate in the work of the United Nations, through consultative status with the Economic and Social Council, and attendance at meetings of other sections or agencies of the United Nations.

In the short three years of its existence forty-two countries have officially affiliated with WAY. They include Algeria, Austria, Belgium, British Guiana, Cameroons, Canada, Ceylon, Dahomey, Denmark, France, French Guinea, Gabon, Gold Coast, India, Ireland, Italy, Lebanon, Luxembourg, Madagascar, Malaya, Malta, Martinique, Middle Congo, Netherlands, Niger, Northern Rhodesia, Oubangui-Chari, Pakistan, Philippines, Senegal, Sierra Leone, Singapore, Surinam, Sweden, Togo, Trinidad and Tobago, Turkey, Union of South Africa, United Kingdom, United States, Upper Volta, Viet Nam.

Dependent areas have equal status in WAY with the metropolitan countries. Young people from twenty-five other countries attended the conference as observers.

The Young Adult Council of the National Social Welfare Assembly served the meeting as host. YAC, the United States member of WAY, is composed of fourteen major national youth organizations in the United States.

Working in forums, workshops, committees, and plenary sessions young people of many races, religions, and a wide variety of political beliefs deliberated on common problems and aspirations and hammered out practical programs that youth organizations can carry out together to overcome the problems which confront young people everywhere.

They called strongly for achievement of freedom of dependent areas.

Raising their voices against discrimination and illiteracy, they worked out programs to fight against these evils.

They pledged WAY's support to the United Nations and to the implementation of the Declaration of Human Rights. They decided to establish a WAY-Week around Human Rights Day and to celebrate UN Day by aiding campaigns for the United Nations International Children's Emergency Fund.

They called for more youth participation in National Commissions for UNESCO and other UN activities.

They set up a subcommission on Rural Youth to study special problems and to plan for an international conference on rural youth to be held in 1952 under the auspices of the United Nations Food and Agricultural Organization. Special commissions on students and the status of women were also established.

ONE OF WAY'S MAJOR OBJECTIVES IS to enhance travel opportunities for young people. In this connection the delegates called for the simplification of custom and passport formalities, the abolition of visas, and the issuance by WAY of a special youth travel card.

They adopted a program for exchange of young workers and youth leaders from one country to another during 1951 and 1952.

They laid plans for seeking reduction of international transportation fares and the establishment of educational

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Wide World

WAY delegates in New York City for a Seminar on Technical Assistance prior to the Assembly are welcomed by Mayor Impellitteri

programs and tours for young travelers.

The youth representatives of all countries united to help young people in less developed areas. In this connection they scheduled a regional youth conference to be held in South East Asia in the spring of 1952, planned to send field workers to Africa, Asia, and South America, authorized the issuance of new publications and a traveling library of audio-visual material.

The conference was designed to focus on the Universal Declaration of Human Rights. But this led naturally to discussion of such subjects as education, working conditions, freedom of movement, freedom of youth organizations, discrimination, juvenile delinquency, world citizenship, development and organization of rural youth movements, problems of youth in dependent countries, immigration and emigration, the character of youth movements, and assistance to underdeveloped areas.

With the United States the host country, the youth leaders from abroad had an opportuntiy to see something of this country, hear some of its noted men and women speak, meet with representatives from other countries who work in the UN. They also were able to enjoy a rich cultural program.

They arrived in New York in chartered planes and took part in hospitality and tours which had been planned for them. One hundred attended a Seminar on Technical Assistance in New York prior to the Assembly.

At Ithaca the delegates witnessed performances by the Ballet Theater, the NBC Symphony Orchestra, the Hal Johnson Choir, and the dancer, Pearl Primus. They also saw exhibits of paintings by young Americans, and displays of youth organizations and the United Nations. After the Assembly, tours to eastern and midwestern communities gave them a more complete picture of life in the United States.

During the meetings they heard representatives of adult agencies and government express interest in their work. At the opening session Ben Cohen, Assistant Secretary General of the United Nations, explained the similarity between WAY and the UN. "Tomorrow," he reminded the delegates, "you may be the leaders in the UN and its specialized agencies."

They heard Dean Acheson tell them that they belonged in that group of people which "believes in the human spirit, in the indomitable spirit of man . . . which is guided by a vision of a better world." They were spurred by the words of Madame Vijaya Lakshmi Pandit, Ambassador from India to the United States, who said: "I believe that you—the young people of the world—will elect to climb the mountain and watch the sun rise, and that the time will come when through tolerance and mutual cooperation . . . world peace becomes not only a wish but a blessed reality." And they pondered the words of Mrs. Franklin D. Roosevelt who warned that the future promised to be hard and uncertain. "It will be difficult waiting for people to grow up, waiting for the conscience of the world to catch up with the concept of human rights, and every individual will have to carry his own responsibility. But it will also be a most exciting time to live, a time in which you young people may be able to bring about vitally needed changes democratically and peaceably."

One feature of the Assembly was unique and significant. This was the first international representative conference at which delegates from the dependent areas of the world were on an equal footing with the others. They had an equal vote, were chairmen of meetings, took a strong role in workshops and plenary sessions. These delegates, some of whom left their villages in Africa for the first time, impressed the entire conference by their ability, intelligence, and dignity.

In no part of the conference did the delegates seek to resolve their differences by calling upon nationalistic or ideological catchwords. Calmly and seriously they tackled this important learning experience in citizenship responsibility and international relations. And in providing themselves with a lesson in democratic participation they gave the adult world a demonstration of real maturity.

Report on New York's Young Drug Addicts

Last June the nation was shocked by the revelation at the New York state attorney general's hearings of widespread narcotic addiction among teenagers in New York City. (See *The Survey*, July 1951.) The hearings brought no news, however, to many persons in the health, welfare, law enforcement, and educational fields, where for months there had been increasing evidence of this dangerous form of teen-age rebellion. Fifty-eight persons, under the

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chairmanship of Sylvia J. Singer, were already serving on a committee, appointed last December by the Welfare Council of New York City, to study the situation and to make recommendations to deal with it.

Last month the committee, in an interim report, "The Menace of Narcotics to the Children of New York: A Plan to Eradicate the Evil," produced testimony fully as shocking as that at the hearings, reported some progress in fighting the evil, and listed a number of important steps—local, national, and international—still necessary to make the battle effective.

Prepared by James R. Dumpson, secretary and consultant to the Council's Committee on Use of Narcotics Among Teen-age Youth, the report points to the difficulties of determining the extent of addiction among young people. This is because of the number of unreported cases as well as because of duplications among counts of known cases. It finds in statistics on the court appearance of young people involved in narcotics alone, evidence that the increase is "shocking" and continuing. So serious, in fact, did the committee believe the situation to be that it did not wait for its own findings to be completed before instituting action—a program to acquaint the public with the problem, to devise material for anti-narcotics education in the schools, to cooperate with legislators interested in strengthening narcotic control and providing heavier sentences for illicit traffic in drugs.

Partly, at least, as a result of its efforts, appropriate municipal departments and voluntary agencies have focused their attention on the problem—with the following accomplishments: a program of education and prevention in the schools; increase in the size of the police narcotics squad; stiffer penalties for persons convicted of selling narcotics; plans for a municipal treatment center; the inauguration of a state experimental treatment unit at Westfield State Farm; the creation of a cooperative after-care program by fifteen family and counseling agencies for drug addicts discharged from local hospitals; the launching of a general education program on the effects of narcotics on the individual and the community by the Department of Health, Columbia University, and cooperating private agencies.

As major steps still to be taken the committee recommends: drying up the distribution, internationally, through more effective control of the sources of supply and, in the community, through support of federal, state, and local efforts to track down and punish adult sellers; a widespread educational program through schools and community agencies to inform school children, parents and teachers about the effects of drug usage; the establishment of treatment facilities for persons not committed by the courts as well as for persons committed for treatment only, and of a program of follow-up care for discharged patients; the designation by the appropriate health authorities of narcotics addiction as a reportable disease.

As the report points out, only "an aggressive and intelligent attack in a concerted effort can drive narcotics from the community."

Survey Award Committee, 1952

THE RECIPIENT OF NEXT YEAR'S SURVEY AWARD FOR "imaginative and constructive contribution to social work" will be chosen by a committee of twenty-two persons, under the chairmanship of Channing Tobias, executive director of the Phelps-Stokes Fund. The award will be presented for the fifth time during the National Conference of Social Work, at its 79th annual meeting, in Chicago, May 25 to 31. Special forms for *Survey* readers to use in nominating their candidates may be secured from later issues of *The Survey* or by mail on request. In addition to Dr. Tobias the award committee includes:

Sadie T. Mossell Alexander, *member of the board, National Urban League, of Philadelphia.*

Russell W. Ballard, *director, Hull-House, Chicago.*

W. Miller Barbour, *executive secretary, Urban League of Denver.*

Louis H. Blumenthal, *executive director, Jewish Community Center, San Francisco.*

Bradley Buell, *executive director, Community Research Associates, New York City.*

Franklin I. Harbach, *director, Houston Settlement Association, Inc.*

A. A. Heckman, *executive secretary, Family Service, St. Paul.*

Maurice B. Hexter, *executive vice-president, Federation of Jewish Philanthropies, New York City.*

Jane M. Hoey, *director, Bureau of Public Assistance, Social Security Administration, Washington, D. C.*

Lillian J. Johnson, *executive secretary, Ryther Child Center, Seattle.*

Eduard C. Lindeman, *professor emeritus, New York School of Social Work, New York City.*

Leonard P. Mayo, *general director, Association for the Aid of Crippled Children, New York City.*

Rosemary Morrissey, *public relations counsel, Orleans Parish, Department of Public Welfare, Louisiana.*

William J. Norton, *executive vice-president and secretary, Children's Fund of Michigan, Detroit.*

Ollie Randall, *consultant on Services for the Aged, Community Service Society, New York City.*

Henry Redkey, *rehabilitation specialist for the blind, Federal Security Agency, Washington, D.C.*

Miriam Van Waters, *superintendent, Reformatory for Women, Framingham, Mass.*

Forrester B. Washington, *director, Atlanta University School of Social Work.*

Mrs. George West, *Pittsburgh, member, National Board, YWCA.*

Louise Young, *department of sociology, Scarritt College for Christian Workers, Nashville, Tenn.*

Benjamin E. Youngdahl, *dean, George Warren Brown School of Social Work, Washington University, St. Louis.*

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PERSONALITIES and PROJECTS

social welfare in terms of significant people

He Helps His Community Think

Wide World

Bishop Sheil

BISHOP BERNARD J. SHEIL OF CHICAGO, national director of the Catholic Youth Organization, received the B'nai B'rith award for "Service to Humanity" at the annual convention in July of that Jewish fraternal order.

At about the same time an event occurred in the Chicago metropolitan area that shocked the whole country. So far away as Singapore, New York's Governor Dewey was embarrassed to find the story of the Cicero, Illinois, race riots on the front page of a local newspaper. Nearer home people were wondering: what can be done to prevent such outbreaks of mob rule? Then came one simple and practical answer. The Sheil School of Social Studies, Chicago, announced an eight-week intensive study, to try to get at the roots of this disorder. When this news item appeared, countless Americans said to themselves, "Of course! Once more Bishop Sheil is ready to help the community talk and think straight on an urgent social problem."

Now the story might end there, and we could praise the MOST REVEREND BERNARD J. SHEIL, D.D., Auxiliary Bishop of Chicago, for being both religious-minded and social-minded. But my own experience prompts me to make another observation about the Bishop. I believe that the test of the *really* social-minded person is the degree to which he can take an interest in individuals as individuals, not just in a cause. To me, the secret of Bishop Sheil's social-mindedness is his ability to pass this particular test. [See "Back of the Yards," by Kathryn Close, *Survey Graphic,* December, 1940.]

The first thing I ever heard about Bishop Sheil was an illustration of this. In 1930, he founded the Catholic Youth Organization of the Archdiocese of Chicago. The CYO's program took hold immediately, and brass knuckles were soon exchanged for Golden Gloves. Open to youth of all races and creeds, the CYO developed a comprehensive program of religious, athletic, educational, and social service activities. The program spread from city to city. My attention was caught by the fact that Bishop Sheil, though a skillful organizer, never found himself too busy to consider the problems of an individual boy. If a lad were sick or in trouble, the busy Bishop thought nothing of getting out of bed at midnight and traveling across the whole city of Chicago to bring assistance.

A few years ago I attended the annual dinner of the Sheil School, the sole material inducement it holds out to its staff of ninety-five volunteer teachers drawn from the faculties of several great universities. Its directors recently issued a statement of their purpose:

"Most simply stated, it is to answer the question: What of Christ—in this time and place? In its years of existence, Sheil School has discovered no easy answers. It remains convinced that neither reason nor good will alone can solve the problem of the modern world; that the resolution must be both intellectual and moral, that understanding and action must complement each other."

One need only talk ten minutes to Bishop Sheil to see that these words are a statement not only of his school, but of his whole personality, and of the galaxy of activities he has set on foot and many of which he continues to direct with unflagging personal devotion—the Lewis School of Science and Technology, the Master-Eye Dog Foundation, the West Side Community Center, and the Shiel House in Chicago; the Mercy Mission; the CYO Boys' Camp; an FM radio station; various recreation programs and a special program for Puerto Ricans.

He has made numerous addresses before union conventions such as his widely publicized speech in 1939 to the Packinghouse Workers, and at legislative hearings, including his appearance in 1945 before the Senate Banking and Currency Committee to endorse the Murray-Wagner Full Employment Bill. Yet, the finest element in his record is not so much that of his innumerable activities as of the complete personal devotion that he seems to inspire in all who work with him. That is the surest proof of a real man of God.

JOHN LA FARGE, S. J.

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IN JULY, THE NATIONAL FOUNDATION for Infantile Paralysis announced the appointment of RAYMOND H. BARROWS as its new executive director. Mr. Barrows entered the welfare field the roundabout way. For a dozen years he practiced his earlier profession, engineering, in Chicago, and later in Westchester County, N. Y. During the time he was in Westchester County, Mrs. Barrows was with the Department of Public Welfare in White Plains, and life in the Barrows home was a sort of two-way adult education program, with Mrs. Barrows learning about engineering, and her husband, about social work. Came the depression, with increasing stagnation in Mr. Barrows' profession, and a boom in his wife's field. Then Ruth Taylor, Westchester commissioner of public welfare, persuaded Mr. Barrows to organize and head the new Transient Bureau which she was eager to see started. The bureau formed the bridge for Mr.

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Barrows between his original field of work and the area of his real career.

An alumnus of the University of Vermont, he took postgraduate courses first at the School of Social Work at Fordham University, later at the University of Chicago and Northwestern University. From Westchester County, Mr. and Mrs. Barrows went to Lawrence Hall, a home for boys in Chicago, where Mr. Barrows was superintendent, and his wife the social worker.

The next step was to the Red Cross, for a year in St. Louis and then to San Francisco, where he was vice-president and manager of the Pacific area. During his decade with the Red Cross, he coped with large scale emergency—including the aftermath of tornadoes in Texas, hurricanes in Kansas and Oklahoma, and the Van Port flood.

One factor which influenced this experienced executive in coming to the Foundation was his belief that "it is more satisfying, to concentrate on one objective—to direct all one's energies to a single end." In his new post, he succeeds Joe W. Savage, who resigned to become an associate editor with the King Features Syndicate.

Mr. Barrows was very decided in stating that he contemplates no changes in

Raymond H. Barrows

the program of the National Foundation and its 2,937 chapters. "I'm humble enough to realize," he said, "that it will be a long time before I know this job and all its ramifications, and am competent even to suggest changes." The Foundation carries forward a threefold program, he pointed out—patient care, research, and professional education. "Awareness and special training of physicians and nurses now allay some of the most serious results of polio. We have made great strides in treatment, and good progress in research, but the disease is still a deep mystery."

The Foundation's forecast for the 1951 polio season, as quoted by Mr. Barrows to a *Survey* editor at the end of July, seems at this writing likely to be borne out. "We fear not much less than last year," as Mr. Barrows stated it, "but this would be a great improvement over the epidemic of 1949."

Mr. Barrows emphasized the importance of the tremendous volunteer service enlisted by the local chapters. "That, and the organized laboratory research, represent perhaps our greatest strength in the fight against polio." Mr. Barrows and his associates are certain that that fight eventually will end in victory. The new director likes to cite comparable smallpox figures. In 1930, that ancient scourge claimed 48,907 victims in the United States. The U. S. Public Health year-end summary for 1950 reported: "Smallpox—34 cases for the calendar year." His friendly face kindling with enthusiasm, Mr. Barrows said, "Some day the report on polio will read that way, too!"

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THREE YEARS AGO, FOUR WOMEN FROM the Logan Square section of Chicago asked ALFRED E. RATH, head resident of Association House if a small group of parents they represented might move their meeting place from a nearby playground to the settlement house. Mr. Rath, whose easygoing manner has inspired the confidence of many troubled neighbors, found himself involved in yet another distressing community problem.

The central interest of these parents was that all had children classified as "uneducable." The schools would not take them into classes for retarded children. The state institutions were crowded and many parents feared their children would not be happy in them. No alternative existed, it seemed, except to keep these physically normal but mentally deficient children at home, where their presence created psychological hazards for other members of the family.

"We want to start a school of our own," they told the head worker when he came on invitation to their first meeting. Mr. Rath had no experience in this field, yet his years of work as a neighborhood leader helped him recognize the group's common feeling of desperation. Few of the parents were able to accept the mental limitations of their offspring. Most were burdened with feelings of guilt.

Mr. Rath persuaded the group to postpone their effort. Meanwhile, he helped them to talk out their difficulties together and, gradually, to abandon their grim sessions of protest over the peculiar misfortunes of their children. Once they had learned to relax, even to enjoy game sessions after their meetings, he brought in as guest speakers experts from Chicago's hospitals and social agencies. With this help, the parents were able to face the realities of their children's limitations and plan their school accordingly.

This fall the Retarded Children's Educational Project at Association House opens its fifth half-yearly session. The parents themselves, helped by the local Lion's Club, have been responsible for the school's support and maintenance. Guided by Natalie Perry, a licensed teacher with experience in this field, the children—all with mental ages ranging from three to five—have learned self-care. They take greater interest in their personal appearance and make increasing use of speech.

"Our school," explains Mr. Rath, "is operated as much to help the parents as to train their children." While some assist with the classes, others watch the progress of their children through a one-way screen. Group discussions have continued. New parents who join are helped by the others to come to a more objective understanding of their children and the physical, psychological, and interpersonal aspects of their problems. The evening meetings are now sociable affairs with the fathers—heretofore reluctant to join—taking the lead.

As news of the project has spread, hundreds of parents whose children are found too much retarded for the public school program have come from other parts of Chicago to find help. Since 1949, Mr. Rath and his group have helped parents with "uneducable" children to form organizations in several neighboring cities, thus furthering what has become a national movement.

Mr. Rath calls this school project "a clinic, a proving ground for techniques." Eventually, he says, state programs for retarded children must be broadened to provide training and care for these "uneducables." The problem is too large for a private organization to handle adequately. His Logan Square settlement has taken a hand in promising legislation that would bring this about in Illinois.

Whatever program for "uneducable" children is worked out, however, Mr. Rath thinks the experience at Association House has proved beyond doubt the necessity of making parents full participants.

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A Billion Dollar Industry

HILLIER KRIEGHBAUM

THE LOBBYISTS: The Art and Business of Influencing Lawmakers, by Karl Schriftgiesser. Little, Brown. $3.50

ONE MAJOR BARRIER TO THE REGULATION of lobbying is that no one has devised a pat formula for separating the so-called "good" lobbyists from the "bad." There is, unfortunately, no simple rule of thumb.

The late Senator Clyde Reed cynically remarked, "A lobbyist is anyone who opposes legislation I want. A patriot is anyone who supports me." And too much thinking and writing is geared to this attitude. This is not true of Karl Schriftgiesser as he tells the story from the efforts to influence British Colonial governors and the "brace of Adams" as they drove to Philadelphia for the First Continental Congress, through to the Buchanan Committee's recommendations earlier this year. (See "Lobbyists at Work," by Hillier Krieghbaum, *The Survey*, February 1951.)

On the first page of his first chapter, Mr. Schriftgiesser sets the tone for his historical study. He says:

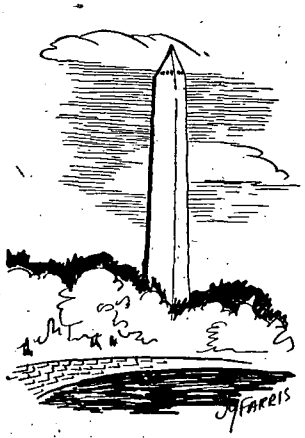
"At its highest level, which it attains more often than is perhaps generally realized, lobbying is a positive good. At its common level, if it is not closely watched, it is more often than not detrimental to the welfare of representative government. When it falls to its lowest level, as it has often done in our time, it is morally indefensible and a criminal offense against the people."

LIKE THE MAJORITY OF THE RECENT Buchanan Committee investigators, Mr. Schriftgiesser favors full publicity of lobbyists' names, goals, and backers. He calls "soundest" the committee suggestion that "the Senate and the House designate standing subcommittees to provide for continuous analysis and evaluation of the Lobby Act filings." This would effectuate the provisions for publicity about lobbyists and their backgrounds.

Like the political scientists who have spent much of their careers examining the "present system of pressure politics," he concludes that considerable good might come from stronger political parties and effective party discipline. But he realistically presents the dilemma in this frequently-advanced solution.

"We have shown time and again that it is when party leadership and party responsibility are weakest that the lobbies are strongest and get away with the most," he writes in a discussion of the Buchanan Committee recommendations and findings.

"Strong party platforms and programs and a determination to carry them out through disciplined party action, with the parties making up their minds about the problems of the day and then living up to their commitments, would weaken the threat of government by pressure. Whether such party discipline is attainable in this country is a question that cannot be answered offhand, but the need for it has been obvious in recent years. (The Republican-Dixiecrat coalition is an instance of party weakness which has allowed freer play for pressure groups whose activities might have been checked if a strong Democratic Party, driving cohesively towards definite goals under determined leadership, had been in existence.)"



FOUR CHAPTERS ARE DEVOTED TO FOUR recent case histories in lobbying. They illustrate many of the techniques used in the battles for legislative votes. These four examples are the activities of the Foundation for Economic Education; distribution of millions of copies of John T. Flynn's anti-New Deal "The Road Ahead"; the battle over extension of rent control and enactment of public housing legislation between the National Association of Real Estate Boards and labor and other "people's" lobbies; and the "revolt of the scientists" which resulted in the creation of the Atomic Energy Commission with civilian control of this huge government monopoly.

Possibly most useful is the chapter dealing with atomic energy. Here Mr. Schriftgiesser ventures into more predictions of future action than in all the rest of his book. He argues that "the future existence of the United States and even the whole world is more dependent upon the outcome of atomic energy *control* than upon any other single factor, political, economic, social, or scientific."

He explains that business interests in 1946 failed to appreciate the full significance of what two other historians call the establishment "in the midst of our privately controlled economy [of] a socialist island with undefined and possibly expanding frontiers." He anticipates that business will mobilize its most persuasive and expensive resources "to abrogate the Atomic Energy Act, which was lobbied through Congress for the people and by the people to prevent forever the private control of atomic energy, which is of the people."

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Mr. Schriftgiesser is particularly dubious of the "forever" angle of that effort and he includes this warning:

"The gap between amateur and expert thinking in this complex and esoteric field is still enormous — and necessarily so, in spite of all the education we have been subjected to in the last few years.

"The ordinary citizen and the expert had better get together soon and close this gap if atomic energy, which was brought to penultimate perfection only through the expenditure of billions of the ordinary citizens' dollars, is not to be stolen from them. The lobbies are already at work."

Mr. Schriftgiesser, who knows first hand about lobbyists from his own experiences as a newspaper columnist in Washington, is, in the main, strictly factual in his panorama of how lobbying has grown into a billion dollar industry and an art which requires subtle manipulation of opinion in congressmen's home districts. In fact, he has adhered so meticulously to his self-imposed restriction against a sensational exposure of the "pressure boys" that his volume may fail to obtain the large audience that it deserves.

The author indulges only infrequently in lapses into righteous indignation over particularly shocking evidence of political corruption fostered by lobbyists. He refers to the Committee for Constitutional Government and the National Economic Council as "two organizations which, without any exaggeration, can be called a part of the latent fascist element that only the ostrich would deny exists in the United States."

He also lapses from his usual objectivity to give his own evaluation of the most recent lobbying inquiry.

While praising the Buchanan Committee for not engaging in a sensational witch hunt to grab headlines, Mr. Schriftgiesser does speculate that if the group had "hit a little harder, it would have commanded even more respect than it did." And he concludes that major inquiries affecting the general welfare might better be turned over to an independent outside agency, such as is provided in New York State's Moreland Act or in Great Britain's Tribunal of Inquiry Act.

The author concedes the Republicans' angry charge that the democratic majority played "politics." So did the minority, he adds, possibly even more violently. He wonders that even more "politics" was not involved since both sides were made up of "politicians conducting an investigation in an election year."

A carefully documented research production, the book includes eight and a half pages of citations to quotations and paraphrases in the text plus a selected bibliography of nine pages and a three-page appendix.

—Mr. Krieghbaum, associate Professor of Journalism at New York University, was formerly a member of the Washington staff of the United Press.

Other Recent Books

THE ART OF ADMINISTRATION, by Ordway Tead. McGraw-Hill. $3.75

As human institutions grow in size and complexity, the problems of the administrator become more difficult, and the results of administration become more important to society. The possibility of increasing our strength for military purposes without seriously impairing our living standards depends upon improved administration as well as technological advances. This book considers whether we can accomplish these ends without moving to an authoritarian or a totalitarian society.

The topic is timely, and the author's treatment exhilarating. He views broad-gauged administration as a means of attaining both efficiency and democracy in industrial practice. He envisages improved understanding and greater effectiveness of administration under the conditions and challenges of American life, and the contribution by administrators to productive democratic living in a technological society. While saying that administration may be "a definite fragment of human creativity . . . in good associated performance and achievement," at the same time, he recognizes that it may be a social liability if it is rigid and domineering.

The theme of the book necessitates a consideration of the nature of a democratic society in action. The author states, "Democracy is the ordering of a given society in order to control personal power in the interests of freedom,

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J.R. Rees, M.D.

Director, World Federation for Mental Health

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A cross-section of the Soviet citizen and what he thinks

SOVIET ATTITUDES TOWARD AUTHORITY

By MARGARET MEAD

• What is the attitude of the Soviet citizen—in his varied roles of parent, worker, soldier, citizen—toward those forces that control his life? Specialists of the Rand Corporation, under the direction of the world-famous anthropologist, Margaret Mead, give a comprehensive and objective answer derived from research in Soviet newspapers, movies, records, Party Congresses, and interviews. SOVIET ATTITUDES presents a contemporary understanding of the complex Soviet character, and provides a sound basis for predicting future developments in Russia.

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THE INTERNATIONAL JOURNAL OF GROUP PSYCHOTHERAPY

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and, by the same token, to channel personal power in the interests of public service."

Against the background of psychological findings as to human nature in action, and consideration of the nature and acceptance of organization aims, the discussion proceeds to analysis of the substance of administration. The contrast of the wholesome will-to-power and the pathological lust for power is nicely examined. The treatment of the personnel aspects of administration is comprehensive and realistic without getting into techniques. Collective cooperation is viewed as centering attention of management and the rank and file "on the progressive improvement of any and all phases of operation looking to the increasing productivity of the entire enterprise." The conditions for such collective cooperation are thoughtfully treated. In considering the process of coordination, the author discusses both its structuring and the psychological aspects and importance of attitudes and intentions. Administration is viewed as an educational process, and the maxim stated that, "every administrative contact should help advance the learning, the understanding, and the concurrence of those being dealt with."

The book is neither a manual on administration nor a compilation of research. While it draws on research in the social sciences, it is, to a large extent, a study of values. It should be particularly helpful to the complacent administrator. One would wish for more in the way of concrete illustrations, primarily to make the book more popular reading among median administrators on the Flesch scale. While this volume is primarily directed to administration in industry, it has equal application to administration in government and in large voluntary nonprofit organizations. We cannot dodge the problems of administration in a mass-production economy, and we need the perspective on the process that Ordway Tead gives us. ALBERT H. ARONSON
Director, State Merit System Services
Federal Security Agency

ECONOMIC RESOURCES AND POLICIES OF THE SOUTH, by Calvin B. Hoover and B. U. Ratchford. Macmillan. $5.50

THE SOUTH OF THIS BOOK, THIRTEEN states, has about 28 percent of the United States land area and about 28 percent of the population. The total income payments in the South in 1948 were 19.2 percent and the federal tax collections 16 percent of the national total. "The principal economic problem facing the region," the authors write, "and the central theme of this study, is the problem of how that income can be raised—effectively, substantially, and permanently."

The total income payments in the South in 1929 were only 15 percent, however. Per capita income rose from 47 percent of the non-southern average in 1929 to 65 percent in 1948. Individual income taxes paid in the South rose from $115 million to $2,828 million, an increase of 2,459 percent compared with an increase of 2,096 percent outside the South. These figures are given out of context in this review; the authors qualify and explain them. The conclusion they reach, nevertheless, is that the South made substantial gains in income between 1929 and 1948.

Another conclusion that the authors reach is that, "If existing assets are used intelligently and if the natural advantages are exploited fully the South should be able to bring its income up more nearly to the national average." It is the purpose of this book, suggested by the National Planning Association of the South and prepared as one of its research projects, to gather together basic data concerning the economic resources of the South, analyze them, and study the alternative economic policies for the South. This purpose, ambitious as it is, has been as well accomplished as seventeen chapters, ninety-six charts, and almost five hundred pages permit. The South knows more about itself than any other region in the country. This book adds to that knowledge.

Calvin B. Hoover, chairman of the Department of Economics at Duke University, is director of research for NPA's Committee of the South. B. U. Ratchford is Professor of Economics at Duke and Hoover's close collaborator. The National Planning Association's Committee of the South, organized in 1946, is composed of fifty-five southerners—leaders in agriculture, business, labor, and education. A number of research projects authorized by the committee has been completed and published and the results of this research are a factor in the South's economic progress.

Hoover and Ratchford leave apologists little ground for excusing the South's relative income position—at least no solid economic ground. In a chapter

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entitled "Barriers to the Economic Development of the South," they conclude, after analysis, that there are no inherent barriers—not even freight rates or absentee ownership or labor inefficiency. There are difficulties, of course, such as the large number of people in non-productive age groups and the lag in management and technical training facilities. But these can be overcome by imagination, initiative, and persistence—and the avoidance of restrictive government controls.

The spirit of the book reflects the spirit in the South today—and a remarkable thing it is for a piece of economic analysis to succeed in mirroring the spirit. Careful presentations of public finance, natural resources, agriculture, industrial development, labor, and international trade deal not only with policy; they present ideas for program.

The book covers a very broad area, and it is also a gold mine of data gathered from dozens of statistical series, reports, books, and periodicals. The book's weakness for some may be that it covers too much territory to answer all questions on the numerous policy problems to which answers are suggested. It presents a consistent point of view, however, and for its purpose that accomplishment should be adequate.

GEORGE F. GANT

Consultant for Graduate Programs
Board of Control for Southern Regional Education, Atlanta

YOUR BEST FRIENDS ARE YOUR CHILDREN: A Guide to the Enjoyment of Parenthood, by Agnes E. Benedict and Adele Franklin. Appleton-Century-Crofts. $3

THESE WELL-ADJUSTED CHILDREN, by Grace Langdon and Irving W. Stout. John Day. $3.75

WHAT MAKES FOR GOOD CHILD-PARENT relationships? This is the common theme of two books whose individual approaches and use of material are quite different. In "Your Best Friends Are Your Children," Adele Franklin and the late Agnes E. Benedict are writing for parents troubled by varied and often conflicting advice on child-rearing. Drawing upon experience, the educators try to meet this upsurging of anxiety by helping parents to acquire more understanding of themselves as persons, of the natural needs of children, and of the countless opportunities they have to build warm, positive relationships together.

The book shows a generally good perspective on the complexity of parenthood today, particularly as it applies to urban, middle-class living. In easy, comfortable language, it deals with children's needs in school and at home, in sharing family planning experiences, and in meeting emergencies and troubles. It tries to elucidate to parents almost every aspect of experience which children ordinarily have as they grow up.

In so large an undertaking, it is understandable if the presentation sometimes takes on a didactic flavor ("You must—") or if the recommendations of what parents may do to improve a relationship occasionally seem more closely allied to the desirable goal and the conscious level of effort than to what may be expected realistically from a parent whose behavior pattern has been established over a period of years. The most important point is made often and with clarity: the soundness of child growth is dependent upon parental love. Love underlies friendship. And, parents who want the friendship of their children, need to be able to give it to them, unqualifiedly and in ways which are most meaningful.

GOING DIRECTLY TO PARENTS THEMselves as a research source, the authors of "These Well-Adjusted Children" have come up with much the same conclusion. This unique book by Grace Langdon and Irving W. Stout, culminates a two-year study of 158 "well-adjusted" children from the Milwaukee area and 103 from New York, to determine from their parents: "What in the home life accounts for your child's good adjustment?"

The equivocal term of "well adjusted" was used to designate children between the ages of 5 and 21 years, each of whom was selected by principals and teachers as successful in eight areas: being able to play well with children; appearing to be happy; having reasonable control over his emotions; being dependable; achieving somewhere near his capacity; being able to think for himself; being kind and helpful to teachers and classmates; being liked and respected by his peers.

A description of the study indicates a wide range in the intelligence and abilities of the children, although none was below average. Socio-economic, religious, and educational backgrounds of the families were highly diversified. The parents' attitudes about how to bring up their children varied accordingly. Their thousands of lively quotations present a colorful motley of feelings and ideas naturally expressed and often highly un-

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orthodox. One outstanding characteristic underlies all the parents' answers, however—an affectionate, respectful appreciation of their children, with emphasis on their good points and understanding of their weaknesses.

This book's salient value is in the reassurance it gives parents and those who work with children that there need be no one way to bring up a child. Apparently children can take strength from many kinds of homes and parental standards. They can adjust well to families large or small, rich or poor, intact or separated, provided the adults nearest to them are loving and consistent.

EVELYN ADLERBLUM
School of Education
New York University

DEFENSE WITHOUT INFLATION, by Albert G. Hart. Twentieth Century Fund. $2

THIS IS THE FIRST OF A SERIES OF studies which the Twentieth Century Fund is sponsoring on how we can best maintain an effective civilian economy at this time when a large military effort is necessary for our survival. In this little book, Professor Hart of Columbia University presents an analysis of the inflationary situation and appraises all possible methods of dealing with this problem. This is followed by a program for action formulated by the Fund's Committee on Economic Stabilization, of which Prof. John Maurice Clark, also of Columbia, is the chairman. Both the principal author and the members of the committee rank among the country's foremost specialists in the problems of economic stabilization.

Their combined efforts have resulted in the best extant treatment of the inflation problem which now confronts the country and in a program for action which will generally be approved by economists.

In a time of the diversion of much of our production to military use, the available output is not large enough to satisfy all the demands of government, civilian consumers, and private investors. Ruinous price increases are inevitable unless the government decides how much each shall get. Anything more than a slow and moderate increase in prices operates to weaken our economy and to make our military efforts less effective.

Both Professor Hart and the committee reject the view, popular among businessmen, that the problems of inflation can be solved by increased production. Increased output normally requires extra input. By diverting more materials to expansion of facilities and military production, increased production adds to the inflationary pressures. It is only when we are over the mobilization hump, so that part of our munitions industries can be returned to consumer uses, that increased production will help to check inflation.

In the present situation major responsibility for controlling inflation rests upon government. While accepting price and wage controls as necessary, the authors stress that they will fail unless there is a spirit of compliance plus adequate enforcement machinery. They recognize that besides price and wage controls, we must have such other direct controls as allocation of scarce materials and limited consumer rationing. Like most economists, however, they place their greatest reliance in fiscal and monetary measures to drain off excess purchasing power, among them the prompt increase of income and excise taxes; anti-inflationary operations of the federal reserve system; and with President Truman, strengthening the social security program.

The Committee concludes with an appeal to our great interest groups to put the nation's welfare above group gains. We cannot check inflation when each group seeks to enlarge its money income to match increases secured by others. We can attain stabilization only through "reciprocal willingness to sacrifice." We must apply controls to everybody, as fairly and equally as possible, but in this time of peril we can do so only when selfish interests are subordinated to the general good.

EDWIN E. WITTE
Chairman, Department of Economics, University of Wisconsin

THE SCHOOL IN AMERICAN CULTURE, by Margaret Mead. Harvard University Press. $1.50

THE MODERN WORLD NEEDS "A TOTALLY new kind of teaching—a teaching of readiness to use unknown ways to solve unknown problems. . . . We need to teach our students how to think, when you don't know what method to use, about a problem which is not yet formulated. So if we, who live now, can fully realize and incorporate into our every teaching word and gesture our parlous state, we will, as we transmit it to our pupils and students give them just the freedom, just the sense of an unguessed-at process which nevertheless must be found, which if they incorporate it, should equip them as no generation

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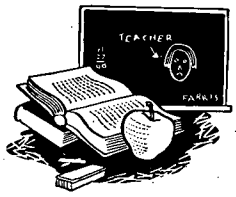
has ever been equipped to make the new inventions which are necessary for a new world."

Thus Margaret Mead in the 1950 Inglis Lecture at Harvard University puts her finger on the major need in American education today. What is the technique, what is the unguessed-at process, and how has this need evolved in our culture?

As characteristic of American culture, she describes three school images: the



little red schoolhouse, the academy, and the city school. The little red schoolhouse stands as a symbol of a stable, democratic, slowly changing American world. The academy like the little red schoolhouse envisioned the future in terms of the past and preserved, through study of the classics, our European heritage.

The third school image—the city school—teaches the mixed races of children in its crowded classrooms to reject their background and pushes them *en masse* into an unpredictable future. The resulting conflict between the school oriented to the past and the school oriented to the future today more than ever is affecting organization, curricula, teacher status, and community relationships.

To show the evolving role of the teacher, Miss Mead compares and contrasts the relationships between the generations in homogeneous primitive cultures. Children raised by their grandparents, characteristic of certain North American Plains Indians, tend to be conservatives and not to welcome change. Children reared by older brothers and sisters as in Bali live longer in the child's world, are permitted to be themselves, and learn from someone still a child. To them the present is important; the past and the future are equally unimportant. The typical relationship is found in our middle class culture where children are reared by their own parents. These children grow up faster and are alert and ready to face a new, uncharted world in a thoroughly learned and charted way.

The American teacher today, says Miss Mead, must be a synthesis of these three generation positions: the grandparent who has seen the whole of life, the parent who is living it day by day, and the child who is the custodian, not of the future, but of the immediate past and the present.

To equip the coming generations to make the new inventions necessary for a new world, Miss Mead believes that teacher education must develop this synthesized three-model teacher who has "a sense of an unguessed-at process" and is capable of functioning in a rapidly changing world and in teaching increasingly unpredictable children. She suggests what this new teacher education must be but points out that as she writes her suggestions they are already out of date. Hence her emphasis upon the process.

Teacher education is currently experimenting with processes called cooperative interaction, living democratically, and learning the workshop way. Through these and other processes still to be invented, and through refined living of them in teacher education it is not too much to hope that a "reunderstanding of history in the light of new knowledge about men and their motives" will come, that "new inventions in which the learner may be left free to integrate all through life each new experience" will be made, and that "awareness of self as a continuing part of the personality into adulthood and old age" will be kept alive. Then perhaps the school in American culture may become fit to assume its modern role—a teaching of readiness to use unknown ways to solve unknown problems—because its teachers have learned the process.

FRANCES MAYFARTH
Assistant Professor of Education
New York University

WHAT THE JEWS BELIEVE, by Philip S. Bernstein. Farrar, Straus and Young. $1.25

"WHAT DO JEWS, HERE AND NOW, believe?" was the question that Rabbi Bernstein sought to answer in this small volume. Originally published as a feature article in *Life* magazine, "What the Jews Believe" evoked considerable interest among people of all faiths which led to its reissue as a book. The author took advantage of the opportunity to expand the essay, gaining in the process greater clarity and thoroughness.

Compiling the basic beliefs of Judaism is no easy task, for the Jews do not possess a formal catechism nor do they have a universally recognized ecclesiastical authority. It is also well known that there are three major religious

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groupings in contemporary Judaism—Orthodox, Conservative, and Reform. Herein lies one of the significant contributions of the author; himself a reform rabbi and president of the Central Conference of American Rabbis, he has succeeded, by and large, in the presentation of some of the beliefs of all shades of modern Jewry in an objective and yet sympathetic manner. In the development of the composite faith of the Jew, Rabbi Bernstein has drawn upon the teachings inherent in the Jewish festivals. It is indeed true, as he says, that "one can learn more about the mainsprings of the Jew's spirituality from the cycle of year-round observances than any formal statement of faith."

The book enumerates some fundamental differences between Christianity and Judaism in a forthright and unequivocal manner and without attempting to proclaim the superiority of either. Non-Jews will find this small volume an excellent introduction to Judaism and for Jews it is a readable and compact summary. However, one who desires more than a superficial knowledge of Jewish beliefs and practices will, of necessity, turn to other sources.

PHILIP GOODMAN
Director, Jewish Education
Jewish Center Division
National Jewish Welfare Board

GROWING IN THE OLDER YEARS, edited by Wilma Donahue and Clark Tibbitts. University of Michigan Press. $2.50

THIS IS THE THIRD VOLUME IN A NOTEworthy trilogy, edited by Wilma Donahue and Clark Tibbitts, dealing with the problems of the aging.

These volumes have made widely available the material developed in the field of gerontology by the Institute for Human Development and the Extension Service, both of the University of Michigan. They also include many of the papers presented by national leaders in three successive summer conferences cosponsored by these two organizations.

This book, including papers from the 1950 conference, as it explores mainly medical health, mental hygiene, and education in the later years, fully lives up to the high standard set by the preceding volumes. In 1951 the lecture-discussion conferences at the University of Michigan have been replaced by workshops on employment in later maturity.

The preliminary chapter by Clark Tibbitts covers "National Aspects of an Aging Population."

Each of the next eleven chapters was written by a physician, psychiatrist, educator, psychologist or social worker who has had pioneering administrative as well as practical experience in special programs for improving the health, adjustment, education of older people.

The need for research and for simple experimentation is acknowledged by contributors who report progress in such fields as biological processes in aging and emotional reactions.

A healthy difference of opinion appeared in the present evaluation and the forecasting of advances in the medical and social areas of research in aging.

One author believes that "one may justifiably say that the social aspect [of the many problems presented by the chronic diseases of the aged] is a mere stop gap to give medical research a chance to catch up with the knowledge of how to prevent the changes that occur in later life." But another author thinks that "medical and physical research . . . is already recognized as having outpaced social research . . . [leading to] a dangerous imbalance of knowledge. Immediate research goals in the next few decades will accordingly be aimed at accelerating social research, so that we shall not continue to find ourselves in the embarrassing position of prolonging human life without providing opportunities for prolonged usefulness."

The desirability of cooperation among professions is frequently stressed. An excellent detailed report on the physical restoration of the older person concludes that "successful physical rehabilitation requires complete cooperation of a team consisting of physical therapists, occupational therapists, social service workers, vocational counselors, and speech therapists as well as physicians."

The closing chapter by Wilma Donahue, "A Mid-Century Forecast," is well-timed and challenging. She shows her thorough acquaintance with the diverse thinking and activities related to gerontology in this country and abroad. More important, she has been able to identify concepts and trends which she thinks will reduce the confusion and improve the planning of sound, flexible programs.

Implicit in the discussions, but possibly not stated explicitly enough to guide some of the enthusiastic converts to this "movement" is the recognition of the necessity to construct a design of living wherein there will be full and fair utilization of the resources of people of *all* ages. This will require thoughtful adjustments with compro-

(Continued on page 446)

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(continued on next page)

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(Continued from page 444)

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THE MARK OF OPPRESSION: A Psychosocial Study of the American Negro, by Abram Kardiner, M.D. and Lionel Ovesey, M.D. Norton. $5

THIS SIGNIFICANT ANALYSIS PROBES IN a pioneer way into the innermost core of race and group relations. It gives us at long last illuminating insight into the typical psychological effects of social discrimination on the minority personality. The study, in the relatively new field of psychodynamics, is based on a few intensively analyzed psychiatric cases—too few doubtless to give the whole story of the varied after-effects of prejudice, but even so, it yields conclusions which are crucially important as well as constructively suggestive. Although concerned specifically with reactions of the Negro, the book's implications embrace the whole field of intergroup relations, furnishing the student of society with promising new approaches and techniques for understanding any and all minority groups. In this instance the authors have provided a novel and sobering picture of the inner subjective costs and psychological damages of American race discrimination as exemplified in typical American Negroes.

Due allowance must be made for more normally adjusted individuals than those examined, as well as for variations of individual temperament and class status; the brunt of the evidence relates really to lower and lower-middle class urban Negroes. The authors themselves wisely warn of the tentative character of their conclusions. Nevertheless, they are so significant that no social student or social worker wishing to understand the situation of race realistically can afford to be ignorant of them. Not only are the direct frustrations and negative personality damages convincingly documented, but group survival adaptations and compensative group counter-assertion are clearly shown to be psychologically costly and abnormal and socially dangerous in the long run.

The authors appropriately ask: "Is there such a thing as a basic personality for the Negro?" This work proves decidedly that there is. Though he lives in the American culture, the Negro lives under special conditions which give this personality a distinctive configuration. Taking as our base line the white middle class, the conditions of life for the Negro are so distinctive that there is actual alteration of the pressures to which he must adapt. Hence, he develops a distinctive personality. This basic personality is, however, a caricature of the corresponding white personality, because the Negro must adapt to the same culture, must achieve the same cultural goals, but without the ability to achieve them. This limitation in social opportunities accounts for the difference in "personality configuration." Such conclusions may seem radical and in the first instance discouraging. The authors would have done well to have characterized the net result as a truncation rather than a "caricature."

But there is scientific gain in facing facts realistically; also in giving second thought to the constructive implications of these findings. Among other things, they displace completely the old pseudo-scientific explanation of group traits, showing such traits to be socially acquired instead of psychologically innate. Furthermore, such traits are here connected with their true causes, the blame is objectively placed on majority tradition and behavior and it becomes evident that through changed group attitudes and enlarged opportunities they are modifiable to the point of elimination. In this sense the book brings us close to a welcome goal of preventive and corrective social therapy.

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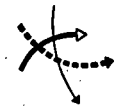
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